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THE appearance of the first posthumous work of Josiah Royce is in itself a moment of importance. America, in entering upon a new world-career, has discovered, and inevitably discovered, a new interest in itself. The vivid and generous idealism, the high self-approval, with which we entered upon the overseas crusade, followed by the bitter recessional, rebuffs not only of our confidence in others but also of our own clarities and contentments, have left us humbled and puzzled and confused with a sense of our own self-strangeness. We Americans marched into the war with a serene courage and a singing voice, not glad, but ready; we are returning, drooped and disastered, with an unintelligible external victory and an inevitable inner conflict, surprised by our friends, uncertain of ourselves, wistful of our ideals. What, indeed, are we, inwardly and truly? How much is of Europe, how much of the New World? What, out of our past, is genuinely our spirit and our inheritance? We have passed not only through a crisis of action, but into a crisis of national consciousness, and we are now wrestling, ere the dawn break, for some touch of grace which shall restore within us the inspiration of life. Faith in ourselves—even as a compensation for a broken faith in others—we must find anew; and hence it is that we are turning, with an interest hitherto unknown on these shores, to a reexamination of American history and a reappraisement of the possibilities of American literature, philosophy, art, if perchance therein may be discovered the truth which shall make us whole.

To minds so caught in the glamour of self-distrust every work and word of those who in our past have been framers of our national thought and leaders of our essential life, stout and acknowledged Americans, will come as text for study and object of reflection; and within this range fall the works and words of Josiah Royce. It is certainly too early to attempt to assign to the thinking of Royce its place in the intellectual history of America—much less to try to appraise it as a contribution to the whole development of philosophy. Though its mission is to clarify, to reduce the whole pageant of time into the narrowed mirror of ideas that we may view the parts with a comprehensive eye, yet no more than politics or letters can philosophy be understood apart from its perspective: its interests, its problems, its solutions are all colored and glassed by the fluid of its contextual life, which crystallizes into form only as that life subsides into a future for which the deeds and thoughts of the past are as hardened monuments. Royce himself was deeply possessed of the historic sense; and none could have been more fully aware than he of the futility of an early eulogy or an early silence where the concern is those great matters of thought which slowly build up the speculative abiding-places of mankind. The shadow of the Sphinx is long; she is deliberate with the centuries.

Yet though it is early to assign a place to Royce the philosopher, there need be less reserve in appraising the man: the human, one might almost say, the anecdotal side of a career belongs to its contemporaries. In his last years Royce was a pathetically heroic figure. He was an afflicted man, physically broken, when he was called upon to face the great questions which the war forced upon the world and upon his country; yet he rose to the hour as few American thinkers were able to rise, and in a series of fine utterances he gave unfaltering voice to that high and patriotic idealism which is "the hope of the great community." What must have cost Royce—what shattering of idols, what bitterness of soul—such an expression as the Tremont Temple address, itself keeping up the height of New England tradition, only those can guess who know to what extent his intellectual life had been a devotion to German philosophy; and though it may well be, as his editor, Professor Loewenburg remarks, that his "very attitude of sympathy towards German

civilization of the past intensified his righteous indignation," nevertheless this could have meant but an intenser inward pain. Royce had come to be a kind of apostle of German Absolute Idealism; by the expansion of its tradition he had sought to illuminate our own social ideals, and the German debacle could have come to him only as black treason to his more vital faith. The finer, therefore, that as an American he stood unwavering.

Royce is dead. Ours, not his, must be the retrospection which—after the battle—shall give the fuller appraisal not only of what German philosophy has meant in the world, but of what it might have meant, or indeed may mean in another than our present political dimensions. We must begin again the perusal of the book of history, and it is therefore appropriate that the publication of the "Lectures on Modern Idealism," delivered at Johns Hopkins University in 1906, should take us back to the quieter and confident period before men's minds were broken with self-distrust. In so turning back, we are not studying merely a fallen dust; for the past never dies. German idealism was a vast and perhaps deadly influence in the making of the career of Germany. But it was more than German: it entered France and England and Russia, aggressively and at times dominantly; it entered the United States, vaguely in our first transcendentalism, positively through the expositions of Royce and other American Hegelians; it looms, indeed huge, in the speculation and in the politics of the nineteenth century. But more than this: the temper of German thought is not merely German; it is phenomenal (as its own philosophers might say), along with other phenomena, of the modern world, and its understanding is a part of the understanding of the modern world. The conflict, within the individual, of his individual's will and his citizen's will Rousseau had emphasized before Hegel, and who but Rousseau has made vivid those conceptions of the sovereignty of a people and of the sanctity of the public sentiment which move so deep in our hidden loyalties and differ so little from the over-individual idealized as the *Volkgeist*? Democracy in France and America owns, after all, a speculative cousinship with bureaucracy in Germany: as Royce indicates, they hark back to that romantic storm and stress, that political and social and spiritual unrest which in so large measure is the avatar of modernity. We must know ourselves, we Americans; and if we would know truly we must know whence we were born and what is our inheritance.

The ten lectures on modern idealism are in matter less comprehensive than their title might indicate. They form an historical introduction, devoted to the early Kant-to-Hegel period, rather than a survey of nineteenth century idealistic thought. In two lectures Royce lays his finger upon the essence of Kant, showing how that philosopher could be at once so persuasive and so tantalizing: as his speculative legacy Kant left (in his two "Critiques") an unsolved antimony of the logical and the moral selves which, owing to his own cultivated suspensions of judgment, he was content to leave, but which served as a challenge to the powers and tempers of those who followed his leadership. Fichte was the first, stressing the rights of the moral Ego. Royce passes him briefly and goes on to a study of the dialectic of Subject and Object as developed by Schelling; and thence to his real interest, the less aesthetic and more stringent dialectic of Hegel, to which he devotes four of the lectures, leaving to a last discourse a summarizing of later trends (into pragmatism, humanism, realism, and what-not), which all appear to Royce—though this is not his figure—like an assortment of more or less exasperated and quite futilely resistant creatures caught once for all in the Kantian trap and fated to its dialectic issue. The plan of the whole series, one might remark, is itself a shrewd application of the dialectic of history, an embodied illustration (as no doubt the lecturer was aware) of the major theme of the whole.

But it is not the familiar moments of the dialectic that we are now interested to retrace. Long ago Plato showed both the powers and the limitations of dialectic as an instrument of inner discovery; and if Schelling's application of it to nature

and to art, and Hegel's demonstration of its persuasiveness as the form of history, have indeed led us to question whether all that is outward must not be cut to the pattern of the inward, if this is to become a spiritual familiar, nevertheless opinions as to the ultimate and metaphysical value of the *Idee* as pattern of the Universe are now formed: the evidence is before us; the pros and cons are debated; convictions are set and inimically encamped. Platonists still proclaim that the dialectic is but a pathway to insight, but a method of self-discipline; Hegelians still behold in it an image of the world; and temperaments, classical or romantic, answer with their several assents. The parties are fixed; the discussion has been lost in the slogans.

Today it is in another and far more significant aspect of German Idealism that our interest is engaged. Perhaps the most astute phase of Royce's lectures is the stress he lays upon the fact that the profoundest asseveration of Kantianism is of the indissoluble union of the problem of truth and the problem of morals—morals in the broadest sense, ethical, political, social, indeed cosmic. Philosophy's great distinction from science on the one hand, and from religion on the other, lies just in the fact that it sees the two problems with a single eye; and wherever philosophers lose their sense of the proportion, on one side or the other, their thought sinks into ineptitude (as witness the helplessness of the Neo-Realists of our own day where morals are in question). The fact that man's moral nature is a phase of cosmic nature, and that the conduct of the human species as a whole—in its worlds of thought, politics, art, religion, economics—is itself a comprehensive truth, faceting if not reduplicating the whole of nature, is the fact which the Idealistic tradition seized upon as the one key to all knowledge; and each of its philosophers in his way made the moral dilemma his image of the world. Fichte and Schopenhauer, analogously opposite, fictioned the universe on the motive of desire, as if the "pursuit of happiness" were the one cosmically natural right. Hegel, with more maturity and discipline, construed an Absolute within which the moments of reason itself become the objects of will and the movement of reason toward its natural conclusions becomes the transcendental essence of desire. The "foregone conclusion" becomes, as it were, the reality in which *is* and *ought* coincide to make that portrait of the Absolute within which (monstrously enlarged) man perceives the utter embodiment of his own ever-dividing and ever-reuniting souls and societies. The world is a transcendental whole, but only because men and mankind are contending, and hence moral.

There is a kind of speculative primal innocence in all this theorizing that seems to set it remote from men's affairs. But ideas are never innocent; they are terribly self-responsible. In numerous implicative phrases Royce indicates the iron conclusion of Hegelian logic, later to become *Politik*. "A world of small communities must give place . . . to a world of an imperial type of social unity"; "provincialism leads to imperialism"; "the state is at once a necessity and an oppression to all"; "the truth of the individual is the consciousness of the people to which he belongs." Would Royce now, one wonders, have closed a similar series of lectures with the hope that this philosophy may become "the expression of the very soul of our civilization"? Or, indeed, would Hegel now not find a certain sardonic satisfaction in beholding his own dialectic moment in history so inevitably portrayed: *Weltansicht* inviting *Weltanschauung*, this reacting to *Weltschmerz* whence the discovery of the *Weltgeist* (so far he had gone), and inevitably beyond this the tragic demand for *Weltmacht* and *Weltreich*? Royce himself remarks that in this philosophy "the tale of the *Geist* is more of a tragedy than is that of the individual life." History, since 1914, has glossed this passage.

"The tale of the *Geist*," the repertoire of the World—is not this, after all, the core of German Absolute Idealism? One cannot review it in thought without perceiving anew that it is, deeply, a philosophy of world-pathos—as Schopenhauer perceived, and as its bravest apostles unconsciously betray. The theoretic note is never far from the foreground of its most

logical consciousness: it is indeed the glory of Schelling, and in Hegel's mime-like delineation of the self-expressing and self-transcending *Gestalten des Bewusstseins*, the phenomenology of the Spirit which moves nimbly behind the scenes, we have a strange half-embodied drama, the tragedy of conflict, the comedy of contradiction, and the grim humor of eventual futility. *Storm-and-stress* is staged in categories, and romance masquerades as reason. The essence of Greek and Japanese tragedies, says Royce, "according to Hegel, is that loyalty is divided in twain, into loyalty to the underworld—shadowy, mysterious, but absolute—and loyalty to the visible government, whose commands are explicit, but are of today"; and this phrase is a perfect description of that vaster, but not less theatrical, tragic mode which impels the *Geist* first to play forth its phenomenological roles, and then in self-pity and terror to destroy them. At the end, the whole action falls remote and staged into an aesthetic spectacle, with the curtain ever ringing down upon its empty ends; the volitional and the rational, the moral and the natural, out of the weariness of time pass thinly into the silence of eternity.

It would be deeply unjust to what is noblest in German idealism, it would be deeply unjust to the true Americanism of Josiah Royce, to close with this appraisement. For there is a value in the philosophy difficult to throw into the simple relief of ideas. A philosophy of world-pathos it is (and perhaps its defects flow remotely from the ambiguities inherent in the Teutonic word "world"—a romantic thing, and no classic "cosmos"); but it is also in some truly benign sense a philosophy of peace. Not externally: phenomenological—as we should say, historic—wars it views with indifference; but internally, as the living expression of its apostles shows, it achieves the high and serene pacification of the reconciled spirit. It began its history with a moral dilemma; it grappled directly with the moral issue; and its conclusion is a kind of moral conclusion, though at that point where morals seems to pass over into aesthetics. Comprehensively it takes the life of man, in all its contentiousness, petty or great, and throwing it vastly into the phantasm of nature it finds the two transubstantially welded, and out of the mystic union discovers its own inner quiet. Is it, after all, so remote from that healing of nature to which, more simply, fretted humanity ever turns for its consolations?

There is indeed something histrionic in all this world. We fight its battles phantasmally, and after victory and after defeat we seek reposeful dream, wherein its active contentions resolve into a music of antiphonal voices; and then, once more, caught in the claws of a red reality, we waken to discover that the choired responses are the guns of war. . . . There is no answering quiet save death. What lies beyond? The voices of the prophets proclaim—and there are some that harken and follow, and some that mock, and all pass their mortal way, and no man knows if the question be answered yonder. . . . The world-pathos is, after all, the pathos of humanity. Hegel's philosophy is the philosophy of men's broken congregations, of human life in all its towering aspirations, in all its helpless humiliations; and of the lives of nations in all their aspirations and all their humiliations. . . . But of the World—is there nothing more august beyond?

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The Human Costs of the War

The Human Costs of the War. By Homer Folks. Harper and Brothers.

MR. FOLKS is a well known and highly esteemed social worker, active for the last thirty years in charities in New York and Cuba, and during the war Chief of the Department of Civil Relief of the American Red Cross. His volume is one of the highest import—an indictment of war from the side of those whose only part in it is misery and death, the bereaved, the fatherless, the homeless, the diseased, the enfeebled, the

crippled, the bankrupt: necessary by-products of the ghastly scourge. And no more terrible exhibit of the nature of war has been written, not even by Philip Gibbs, Barbusse, Latzko, or Duhamel. The sacrifice of human values is portrayed in a plain, straightforward style, without any effort at a dramatic effect or an emotional appeal not inherent in the facts themselves. The work consists partly of a narrative of the author's varied experiences as relief agent in Serbia, Belgium, France, Italy, and Greece, partly of a statistical summary of the human damages of the war in these lands, and finally of two terrible chapters, *War, the Best Friend of Disease and Civilization's Indictment of War*.

The final effect of modern war is to destroy in the enemy country whatever a humane civilization has built up, and that by a series of collective crimes, most of them utterly abhorrent to any sane being acting on individual initiative. To such a purpose, by the use of modern mechanism, each side in the late conflict was hideously successful.

Mr. Folks asserts that in 1914 "the millennium was on its way"—it was not at the door, but it was definitely predictable. The war has postponed it indefinitely, for life's great disappointments arise chiefly from two causes, "sickness and untimely death." To promote and extend these calamities is part of the business of war. "Life," he continues, "was already being made longer, happier, and richer. . . . The warfare against disease was civilization-wide. It was a slow fight, and a long one, but it was winning." These assertions he substantiates by a record of the progress during forty years in the relief and suppression of tuberculosis, diphtheria, yellow fever, malaria, typhus, syphilis, and uncinariasis by discoveries and methods which "had already added ten years to the average life-time in America and Great Britain, had made life vastly more attractive, and which, in the very near future, with increasing momentum, would have lightened the black cloud of sickness and untimely death that for ages had kept the world in gloom."

This world movement toward health, the most promising in modern life, was "disrupted or delayed" by the Great War. "In some cases progress made slowly and painfully through decades was lost in two or three years; attention and funds were diverted to destroying instead of saving life, and age-old pests and enemies of man took fresh heart and a firmer hold on the race." The ravages of disease and the hopeless distress among the people caught between the lines can never be estimated or even realized. Even the soldiers fared better. When not in actual conflict the armies were cared for more carefully than ever before in history, but the civilian had to shift for himself, fortunate to escape the worst of fates. To the confirmed militarist the civilian is regarded as an obstructive nuisance. As such he was treated in every "occupied district" throughout the war.

Above all else war is the "baby-killer." That the birth-rate in every country concerned, even the United States, fell off in a degree proportionate to women's suffering, may be recorded as a piece of good fortune for those who might have existed but who never will. "The earth became unpopular as a future home. . . . It was no place for babies." But the death-rate stands in still closer ratio: even of those more enduring or fortunate, few caught in the war current will ever reach the manhood or womanhood which was their just due. In this matter America's duty is summed up in a single pregnant sentence: "England and America cannot save themselves alone. The world cannot remain half-free and half pest-ridden." This is doubtless true in a political and economic sense. But it is a hundredfold more pertinent in the sense of sanitation.

Mr. Folks's indictment of war I must here reduce to a mere catalogue of its crimes: "War is the negation of civilization," and its aftermath, "implied reliance upon force rather than persuasion and orderly procedure," is felt as a crushing burden the world over. "Of the tremendous mass of Allied population (twice as numerous as the people of the United States and its dependencies in 1910) almost exactly one-third had been made

homeless, subjects of an enemy army, killed, widowed, orphaned, or permanently crippled." The great war left two millions of people homeless. It has oppressed and humiliated forty-two millions of enemy subjects. It has sent into slavery "hundreds of thousands, no one knows how many." In its "wholesale murder" it counts nine million soldiers dead. It has left fifty millions of manless homes, ten million empty cradles. It has spread far and wide the war diseases. It has left a mortgaged future to every nation concerned. It has left an insistent demand for continental reconstruction and nobody to do it. The evil effect of the "last cost of war," its reversed selection on racial stocks, is not discussed by Mr. Folks, being outside his own experience, though he suggests that "these may prove to be the most important and permanent results of all." Nor does he consider political changes hastened—perhaps unduly hastened—"for no one can yet tell what these will prove to be."

War is indeed the one great human disaster. "Earthquakes, floods, tornadoes, explosions, may harm the whole population of a locality, alcohol or vice may injure a percentage of the people of whole countries, but war can be compared only to all these things combined and sown broadcast over a continent. We may select from all these other enemies of the human life their worst features, combine them into one quintessence of horror, intensify this to the *nth* power, scatter it continent-wide, and that is war. War is the negation of all the race has striven for through all the centuries. It is the enthronement of unreason and coercion. It is the supreme skepticism, both of man and of God." "If this study presents a terrible picture," continues our author, "this picture should surprise no one. It is of the essence of war to produce such results. That was the intention of the war makers. Each side was trying to do just these things to the other, and both measurably succeeded."

Occasional vivid sentences tell a long story in a few words. Speaking of Serbia, he writes: "One is almost tempted to say that in all these countries the church has the aspect of being a camouflaged branch of the government charged especially with the task of stimulating national spirit." "The morale of the [French] refugees left much to be desired. For some reason the refugees were not satisfied. They were not enthusiastic about the war." "Pity us less and aid us more" [chalked on the walls of Rheims].

In conclusion, Mr. Folks appeals for American help by direct personal gifts and by the national cancellation of loans. This last must probably come sooner or later, but it should take effect, one would think, only as the nations concerned abandon military adventures and levy taxes on the swollen incomes of their own profiteers. The restoration of human values in Europe must follow, for it cannot precede, the demobilization of armies.

DAVID STARR JORDAN

Musical Portraits

Musical Portraits. By Paul Rosenfeld. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

THE critical controversy aroused by Paul Rosenfeld's recently-published "Musical Portraits" has been strangely unilluminative of the book under discussion. But it has at least served to remind us how the majority of our musical guides still cling to Wagner and Strauss as the last intelligible words in music, and how they still underrate Berlioz, overrate Rachmaninoff, hound Mahler, listen to Ornstein with thumbs down, and either ridicule or denounce the whole school of modern cacophony from Schoenberg to Strawinsky. In the midst of such a dim and flickering light of judgment the clear and searching rays that Mr. Rosenfeld has turned upon his subjects seem all the more brilliant and arresting. He has endeavored to interpret twenty composers by analyzing the spiritual causation of their art, dwelling on its hidden springs of race, tradition, and environment rather than on those harmonic elements that comprise the material structure. While this is a distinct de-

parture from the critical methods generally employed in America, many of the fundamental ideas set forth have been voiced at one time or another by the more penetrating of European critics. Yet Mr. Rosenfeld has displayed a marked faculty for reinventing these ideas in fresh and striking habiliments, embroidering them with such originality and skill that they take a new aspect. For instance, when he tells us that Wagner passed with the nineteenth century, of which he was the "sign and symbol"; that time has shown us the greatness of Berlioz; that Richard Strauss is the "false dawn of modern music"; and that Debussy and Ravel have linked the France of today with that of the clavecinists of two hundred years ago—then Mr. Rosenfeld is merely telling what Rolland and Jean-Aubry have already told us. But he also leads us into far different channels of speculation. He calls Wagner "the great initiator, the compeller of the modern period . . . not only because he summarized the old," but "because he began with force a revolution." Of "the father of the modern orchestra" he says: "It is as though the world had had to move to behold Berlioz, and that only in a day germane to him and among the men his kin could he assume the stature rightfully his and live." The artistic decay of Richard Strauss is attributed to "a psychic deterioration," an "unwillingness to go through the labor pains of creation." And the art of Debussy and Ravel is claimed to be "in one respect . . . the continuation of the music that came to a climax in the works of Haydn and Mozart. It is subtle and intimate, and restores to the auditor the great creative role assigned to him by so much of the music before Beethoven."

Again, in the chapter on Rachmaninoff, the elegiac and superficial character of that composer's music, the meaningless embellishments of the piano concerti, the out-moded manner and content of expression inherited from French and German romanticism, have already been touched upon by Ernest Newman and others. It remained for Mr. Rosenfeld, however, to give the most inclusive, vivid, and scathing summary of this whole school of Russian salon composers, of which Rachmaninoff is the chief living representative. "For them," he says, "as it is for every Russian musician, Russia was without their windows, appealing dumbly for expression of its wild, ungoverned energy, its misery, its rich and childish laughter, its deep, great Christianity." But "they did not hear the appeal. They sat in their luxurious and Parisian houses behind closed windows."

The characterizations of Moussorgsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Liszt, Sibelius, and Scriabine are superb, but contain little that has not been acknowledged. The chapters on Mahler, Schoenberg, Bloch, Strawinsky, and Ornstein seem to us the most important in the book, because it is the first time we have had their causes fully presented with any degree of insight and understanding. By using that most modern of methods, psychoanalysis, as in his studies on Mahler and Bloch, Mr. Rosenfeld has been able to deduce much that seems incontrovertible; while his interpretations of Strawinsky and Ornstein, however provocative of discussion, reveal him as singularly equipped to elucidate those qualities that distinguish these composers from their contemporaries; for he himself is in apparent harmony with the age which they embody.

Mahler's problem Mr. Rosenfeld makes out to be that which must be faced by every Jewish creative artist in an alien civilization: either to accept the stigma of his race and speak in his proper idiom, or else to succumb, as Mahler did, to his anti-Semitic environment, and pay the penalty of "sterility, banality, and impotence." It was this same weakness, Mr. Rosenfeld declares later, in his chapter on Ernest Bloch, that kept Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, and Rubinstein from creating. Not, he disclaims, that the artist of Jewish extraction must write Jewish music, "utilize solely racial scales and melodies," but "he must not attempt to deny his modes of apprehension and realization because they are racially colored. He must possess spiritual harmony." Ernest Bloch possesses this spiritual harmony, and so his genius has found full and free expres-

sion. And because, Mr. Rosenfeld concludes, Bloch "rests quite as heavily on the great European traditions of music as he does on his own hereditary strain," one finds in his art "the fusion of the East and the West."

Arnold Schoenberg has always been "the great troubling presence of modern music," even to those most willing and able to understand him. Mr. Rosenfeld offers what seems a simple solution indeed to those baffling works, the "cruel five orchestral and nine piano pieces." "If there is such a thing as form without significance in music," he says, "might not these compositions serve to exemplify it?" Indeed, it is only as experiments, as the incorporation in tone of an abstract and intellectualized conception of forms, that one can at all comprehend them." In this intellectualism of Schoenberg the Jewish element again plays its part. "Beside the Doctor of Music there stands the Talmudic Jew, the man all intellect and no feeling, who subtilizes over musical art as though it were the law." Yet in spite of this, we cannot but admire with Mr. Rosenfeld the teacher who dares to inscribe at the head of his treatise on harmony: "What I have here set down I have learned from my pupils." Perhaps Mr. Rosenfeld is right when he says that Schoenberg, "for the present . . . is the great theoretician combating other theoreticians," and that his later music may "shortly come to be considered as simply a part of his unique course of instruction." Certainly, no more feasible explanation has yet been given us.

Strawinsky and Ornstein bring us to what Mr. Rosenfeld calls the age of steel in music. "With Strawinsky," he says, "the rhythms of machinery enter music art. . . . For him the material world was very real, sharp, and immediate." And then Mr. Rosenfeld proceeds to translate the composer's works into word pictures, which, as verbal fantasies on all the noisy and mechanical devices of the twentieth century, are quite extraordinary, but which, as visualizations of Strawinsky's music, seem at times a bit strained.

Happier to us is the portrait of Ornstein, whose name always evokes in our mind images of violence—violence in music, violence in discussion. And when he is presented to us as "the mirror held up to the modern city," with its "pounding rhythms," its "frenetic activity," its "garishness," its "unceasing roar," or as "youth," in all "its excess, its violence, its sharp griefs and sharper joys, its unreflecting, trembling strength," the likeness is unmistakable. We recognize it too in the picture of Ornstein as "the resurrection of the most entombed of spirits, that of the outlaw European Jew." Nor does it require any stretch of the imagination to hear in the "Poems of 1917" "the wailings and rockings of little old Ghetto mothers." But in following Mr. Rosenfeld's speculation as to what has occasioned that decline in Ornstein's genius which has been so marked of late, in admitting such plausible reasons as transition from adolescence to manhood, a flinching from the hostility of the world, too much concertizing, happiness attained through love, we note curiously enough the omission of one cause which is not only applicable, but is also one on which Mr. Rosenfeld has laid much stress in other chapters. Ornstein has, for the last few years, been living in a distinctly non-Jewish atmosphere. Is it not possible that in losing contact with that spiritual soil in which his being had root and was nourished he has lost that in which he found his greatest stimulus and freedom? Because of this we are not as positive as Mr. Rosenfeld that "Leo Ornstein is sure of reaching the high heaven of art for which he seemed . . . bound." Nevertheless, the whole chapter is a brilliant plea for the young Russian composer.

The whole book, in fact, is an astounding exhibition of virtuoso writing. In this, as well as in the subject-matter it expresses, it indeed "marks off the miles" in American musical criticism. No one who wishes to get a clearer understanding of modern music can afford not to study these "Musical Portraits." For they not only contain the basic elements of truth, but are singularly free from malice and prejudice.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

The Functional Organization of Society

Social Theory. By G. D. H. Cole. Frederick A. Stokes Company.

MR. COLE has intellectual power of high order. His thoughts do not proceed from a porch. Whenever by way of getting a start he indulges in a dogmatical generalization, he soon follows it with qualifications. His object, he says, "has been not to achieve finality or write a definitive book," but to set others to work on the problems which he has only raised. Thus he seems to be shooting arrows into the air and asking others to help him find them and reshape them. Yet he knows well what he is aiming at and where he wants to stand. His theory is one with a name and a pedigree, but it does not proclaim them and so may be treated on its merits without regard to what it may owe to other members of the same philosophical family. Like all good theorists, Mr. Cole is fortunate or skilful in finding his start on a path that leads straight to his goal. Indeed, he comes close to telling us that he has salted his mine with the gold that he later extracts. One of the most commendable traits of his book is its candor in confessing that it is prompted by a preference. Yet as these confessions are scattered and somewhat *obiter* and do not set the structure of the study, it is well to marshal them and emphasize them so that we may see more clearly just what Mr. Cole is doing. He insists so strongly that society should be studied functionally that he should welcome a functional approach to the study of his social theory.

Mr. Cole is painting a picture of his ideal of the organization of society. He calls his object "primarily philosophical." He is concerned, he says, "principally with social theory as the social complement of ethics, with 'ought' rather than with 'is,' with questions of right rather than fact." And what is right? For Mr. Cole it is some blend of what he wants and what he thinks will work. He knows that social theory cannot tell us what ends are "right" and what ends "wrong," and that our conceptions of desirable social arrangements "are inevitably formed in the light of our ultimate conception of social value." Social principles, he says, are true only on certain assumptions, and there is no way of proving these assumptions either true or false. His own announced assumptions are that "the object of social organization is not merely material efficiency, but also essentially the fullest self-expression of all the members"; that "self-expression involves self-government"; that "human beings have wills, and that they have a right and a duty to use those wills to their full capacity in the direction of society." In short, he wants as many folks as possible to have what they want when they want it, and he is devising a plan to help bring this about.

Those who shrink from Mr. Cole's Utopia are apt to find his book not to their liking, even though he tells them soothingly that "any one with the smallest degree of social vision can see that the existing structure of society is doomed either to ignominious collapse or to radical transformation." Mr. Cole does not say openly that a new group is rising to power and that by strength of numbers it is destined to dominate. Such an idea might be inferred from his prophecy that "it is the possession by the working-class movements of such strong and purposeful forms of organization as trade unionism and cooperation that makes their inheritance of the task of reconstructing society almost certain"; but this must be read with remembrance that right, not might, is Mr. Cole's concern. For force he has no fondness. At the very outset he dismisses the Austinian approach from the state and sovereignty because "it begins at the wrong end, with the coercion which is applied to men in society, and not with the motives that hold men together in association." Social theory must supplant political theory by thinking of society in terms of will rather than of force or law. What Mr. Cole seems to look to is a dominance of principles rather than of men. He is seeking those principles which meet the essential conditions of human association. He finds them in "the principles of democratic functional organization and demo-

cratic representation according to function." To the elucidation of the "principle of function" his book is devoted.

It begins by pointing out that no man liveth to himself alone. All are members one of another. Men unite in associations to get things done that they cannot do separately. "The value and full development of society depends not only upon the wide prevalence and diffusion of association in the commonwealth, but also on the successful cooperation and coherence of the various associations. The possibility of this coherence depends upon the fulfilment by each association of its social function." Men should unite on the basis of a common interest. As each man has several interests, he will be concerned with several social functions and will accordingly have a part in several associations. Each man shares equally in the running of each association to which he belongs, and each association exercises a limited coercive power over its members. It is too bad that there should be coercion anywhere, but in the present state of mankind we must have some of it to get along. "It is necessary to provide for its exercise, if only to supply a means for its abolition." If each association has a little of it instead of any one having all, tyranny will be at a minimum. The common interest of all the members of each association is the best assurance of a control of the association which furthers that interest and uses coercion only to that end. The trade union will make each member keep the rules, but it will do so for his own good as a trade union member. The leaders cannot go far wrong when each member knows well the common interest with which the leaders are charged.

After providing for internal harmony in each unit of functional government, Mr. Cole takes up the relation of the units to each other and to the wrath of what was once the state. Each association should have a single function, and each function should be vested so far as possible in a single association. Each association will run its peculiar function. To keep the several associations to their respective functions, coordination is necessary. There must be some umpire between them. As the state is but one of many associations, it cannot act as umpire in disputes between itself and others of like order. The state will control only in matters that "affect everybody equally and in the same way." Stripped of sovereignty with its monopoly of coercion, the state can no longer lay a heavy hand on the individual. Its officers will be chosen by universal suffrage, but instead of "one man, one vote," the principle will be "one man as many votes as interests, but only one vote in relation to each interest." The constituencies will be made up according to functions and not by the map. The interesting and fairly important question as to the number of representatives to be allocated to each functional constituency is not considered. Presumably it will not be one constituency, one representative. But the apportionment is less vital when the state deals only with matters that "affect everybody equally and in the same way." Such matters Mr. Cole finds mainly in the realm of consumption and little, if at all, in that of production.

There are, it is evident, details to Mr. Cole's plan still to be worked out. This he recognizes in his quest for a coordinator. As this "must not be any single association," he makes it a council composed of representatives from the "essential" associations. "To determine what actual associations are to be regarded as essential at a particular time and for a particular society is a practical question, and is therefore alien to a work dealing with social theory." But social theory tells us that in this representative coordinating council is vested the supreme power of coercion. Under its control is to be "the judiciary and the whole paraphernalia of law and police." Force and law thrown out of the window are let in again through the door. The state is dethroned, and the coordinator is crowned. Mr. Cole sees his difficulty and possibly thinks that he escapes from it. He seems to find comfort in the prospect that each functional body will act "without interference in its normal operations from any outside body." The outside body comes in "only when a question

affects more than one form of association, that is, affects men in more than one capacity or function." How often this will happen is doubtless only a practical question, since Mr. Cole does not consider it. Nor does he tell how the representatives on this coercive coordinating body are to be allotted to the participating associations. This seems a very practical question. Suppose twenty functional associations are charged with raising the price of twenty commodities so as to affect all consumers equally and in the same way, and what is left of the state insists that it must have its say. Something may turn on the proportion of the votes which these twenty functional associations may cast in the coordinating council. And what if the members of the functional associations disobey the decree and the policemen of the non-sovereign coercive coordinator sympathize with them? This is another practical question.

Have Mr. Cole's bow and arrow really killed Cock Robin? Is the omnipotent state destroyed, or has there merely been some tinkering with its machinery? We need not bother about the state or sovereignty as abstractions. Both have always had to be worked by mortal men. Traditional theories of the state and of sovereignty are not affected by what actually happens. The abstract state, august old *Allgemein*, still stands where it belongs, remote from the realm of actuality. What really matters in government is who pull the strings and how they do it. Sometimes the strings are pulled by one group, sometimes by another. Some of the strings are political, some are economic. The ballot alone has seldom proved an immediately effective string. Without joining in Mr. Cole's special psychological excursions, we may fully agree that representatives from geographical districts cannot represent the actual wills of those who live in the district. Still in the long run they trim their sails to the dominant winds of doctrine and preference in the constituency. There is a good deal of "pandering to the moral sentiments of the community"; and economic predilections are receiving increasing deference whenever they surmount existing political barriers in the way of getting crystallized. Party leaders are watchful of the limit of what any considerable group of voters will stand for. In Great Britain cabinets rise and fall from pressure outside Westminster without any new election. When voices get loud enough they somehow get listened to, however foolish our way of distributing seats in legislative assemblies. A study of political pressures would carry us far beyond the formal methods of election. For such indirect pressure as we now have, Mr. Cole would substitute a formal mechanism by which men are represented according to their real interests. He would create new agencies of political authority, though he would call them by other names. He severely limits what he calls the state, but his coordinator might chuckle *L'état, c'est moi*.

How far all this functional division and coordination would serve Mr. Cole's desire to end the confusion of existing society is a question for him to consider seriously when he turns from social theory to practical matters. It would seem far better designed to minister to other desires not so explicitly put forward. Though Mr. Cole is silent about matters of arithmetic, there is little doubt that he means to make numbers predominant. He would have democracy live up to its professions. The wheels which he would add to the mechanism seem fairly well adapted to his purpose. They might not be necessary if folks were already adept at flocking on the basis of what is good for them, as the farmers of North Dakota are showing us by what they are doing through the old-established medium of the State Republican organization. Mr. Cole's chief practical contribution may well be in the aid which his machinery will give to a similar pooling of economic interests in more complex industrial communities. His theory is a device for giving to the dominance of the Sons of Martha the same moral authentication that the theory he rejects has given to that of others who have held the reins of power in what we call the state.

THOMAS REED POWELL

Aria and Recitative

Chanteys and Ballads. By Harry Kemp. Brentano's.

The Cairn of Stars. Poems by Francis Carlin. Henry Holt and Company.

Songs and Portraits. By Maxwell Struthers Burt. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Songs of Adoration. By Gustav Davidson. New York: The Madrigal.

Blue and Purple. Francis Neilson. B. W. Huebsch.

New Poems. By D. H. Lawrence. B. W. Huebsch.

The Little School. By T. Sturge Moore. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

Country Sentiment. By Robert Graves. Alfred A. Knopf.

Poems. By Cecil Roberts. With a Preface by John Masefield. Frederick A. Stokes Company.

The Complete Poems of Francis Ledwidge. With Introductions by Lord Dunsany. Brentano's.

Poems 1908-1919. By John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Black Branches. A Book of Poems and Plays. By Orrick Johns. New York: The Pagan Publishing Company.

Don Folquet and Other Poems. By Thomas Walsh. John Lane Company.

Jehovah. By Clement Wood. E. P. Dutton and Company.

The Roamer and Other Poems. By George Edward Woodberry. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

THE average of lyric accomplishment among American and British poets today is by no means low, and Mr. Kemp is not the least of those who have kept it high; but Mr. Kemp's new volume of "Sea-Chanteys, Tramp-Ballads, and Other Ballads and Poems" is a disappointment. He was fastidious before, though generous enough in thought and gesture; now he finds room for commonplace and cant, complacency and swagger. He is singsong, loquacious, and to all appearances uncritical. His Biblical paraphrases are rough and right and reverent; it is possible that he has been true to the sea; but he has not done his best by poetry. Mr. Carlin's blitheness in song rings as of a purer kind. His is the folk note, the friendly, Irish-village voice. Refreshing because naturally gay, all that he needs to be as truly joyful as Burns is to be as truly profound, which he is not.

Mr. Burt writes with a communicative rush which might be other than youthful were it not so eager and innocent. He is never reflective, though his spiritual pores are wide open, and he begins to breathe soundly if a little virtuously. When at last he shall speak thoughts all his own, it is hoped that he will not have lost his really very lovely gift of expression, his round, elegant, springtime pregnancy and shapeliness of phrase—the phrase of glib, high-minded British youth, the phrase and cadence of Rupert Brooke. Mr. Davidson, also in a fine state of communication, has drawn his utterance from a source which also is fervent and pure: the Hebrew Psalms. His rhythmical prose, though unnecessarily laden with Old Testament lingo, seems genuine on the whole, and speaks a clear humility.

Mr. Neilson's "Songs to a Wife," though sincere, do not achieve any effect of passion; their adoration is excessively spare and cool, while their simplicity, resolute as it may be, has none of the perfection that moves. Neither imagery nor declaration is sustained; there is no sure ring of metal, no clean glint of starshine. The poet's gait too often is stiff with inversions and hobbled with prose. He has escaped Victorian verbiage, but he has not yet captured the jewel of seventeenth-century felicity which it is evident that he desires. Mr. Lawrence's preface poses spontaneity as an ideal, promising poetry that "just takes place." That is interesting, but it does not explain Mr. Lawrence's poetry, which here as always betrays elaborate trouble in its preparation. The piece called *Apprehension* is an excellent yet complicated metaphor; *Seven Seals*,

the best thing in the volume and one of the most passionate of contemporary poems, recalls the torture no less than the genius of John Donne.

Mr. Moore, whose book for children comes enlarged from the edition of 1905, altogether avoids jingle, altogether shuns the sweet and easy. He deliberately fumbles his rhythms in order to secure quiet, brown, ingenuous truth. His halting syntax, unauthorized and quaint, often makes for stupidity, but it makes occasionally for a solemnity and honesty of prattle which beyond doubt is effective. Mr. Moore speaks slowly, plainly, primly, with only once in a while a dash of cunning like this:

A little brown wood-mouse
His ample fur-cloak dons;
Then ties his comforter,
Wool white as down of swans;
And as he left the house,
To see his tail was there,
He turned his head;
Then off he sped,
To look if beech nuts were
Silver or red.

Mr. Graves writes nursery rhymes for the young and ballads for the old with equal simplicity and gusto. By virtue of an unusually definite touch he renders ballad dialogue in England contemporary and usable as well as native. His verses for children, far as they are from being as exquisite as those of Walter de la Mare and William H. Davies, are yet affectionate and happy, and they inescapably call to play.

What might be called the transparent tradition in English poetry is represented without much significance by Mr. Roberts but with a good deal of significance by Francis Ledwidge and John Drinkwater. It is the tradition of soothing ratiocination and simple song, executed in lucid octosyllabic quatrains or couplets. Francis Ledwidge was an honest songster, a poet of the blackbird in a time of hawks and vultures, a peasant poet not afraid to be gentle and archaic—to write "athwart" and "adown" and "anon"—when others beat on loud new gongs. He was in no sense an important poet, it must be said; there was a monotony about his processes, a sameness about his exclamations and cadences; he struck out no one stanza that is sure to resist the mould. Mr. Drinkwater belongs first and last among the Withers, the Brownes, the Marvells, and the Dyers of British verse, the dewy, pastoral octosyllabists who are the furthest of all away from solemn laughter and excited tears. He is dull when speculative or satirical; he is never dull when practicing the folk, the minstrel, the country note. He sparkles as soon and as long as he describes Derbyshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, the Cotswolds, and the Lakes, as soon and as long as he moves among men and trees. His only defect—and it is serious enough—is a streak of poetical cant. He fondles blossoms and blackbirds more for their poetry than for themselves. He is somewhat femininely on the defensive for roses and dreams and things—he cannot mention them merely and let them go, but must expound them. Herrick saw more and sighed less. Dimples and ghosts and buttercups once called for a wink, a frisk, or a frosted phrase; now they find reverence and girlish worship.

Not many ventures outside the circle of song are destined in any generation to more than a respectable success. Mr. Johns's monologues, sketches, and weird "plays in chiaroscuro" abound in ambitious irrelevancies and irresponsibilities after the manner of T. S. Eliot, without, however, that poet's huge-handed animal spirits to enliven them. Mr. Walsh has composed a medieval and monastic narrative in effete, Tennysonian pentameters which singly are good but which in the aggregate are wearisome. Vividness, and so vitality, he has sacrificed to an archaic blur like that of William Morris. Mr. Wood is anything but effete and archaic, though he goes back as far as the Old Testament for material and momentum. His aim is the energetic documentation, by description, recitative, and song, of an

ancient tongue-encounter between a band of Israelites and a band of Kenites. "Jehovah" suffers from a too constant strenuousness of reach and a too mighty savagery of diction; there is more motion than flow, more activity than strength. Yet certain of the songs genuinely mount; and Uz, the wrinkled patriarch, spokesman for the Kenites, is a triumph in portraiture—Uz, trudging craftily out before his troops to push incredible claims with a soft and terrible confidence in answer to the taunts of Joab, the Israelite leader.

Mr. Woodberry's latest volume includes his occasional pieces of the past five years, the sonnet-sequence called *Ideal Passion* which he printed more or less privately in 1917, and a long philosophical poem begun twenty years ago but finished only now. As an occasional poet, Mr. Woodberry is not exciting after the occasion has passed; in the present period of enforced listlessness toward the war, his poems on that occasion, at least, seem good work thrown away, seem good words robbed of their right to ring. No general looks large enough any more to fill a sonnet, no victory looks certain enough to deserve an ode. Mr. Woodberry is more surely a poet when he is a Platonist, as in *Ideal Passion*, on the whole the most vibrant portion of his recent output, wherein tributes are paid with an almost plaintive clarity to that Ideal Beauty which leans and touches a poet's temples. The *Roamer* is estimable blank verse, but like some others of Mr. Woodberry's major efforts it produces less poetry and less philosophy than it promises. A narrative of the soul's search for what is ultimately good, it proceeds with vague and thin distinction to a banal conclusion.

MARK VAN DOREN

Lloyd George

The Prime Minister. By Harold Spender. George H. Doran Company.

MR. SPENDER'S portrait of the Prime Minister can claim in one respect only to be a faithful one. It is Mr. Lloyd George as he appears to himself—not to his Maker. His biographer enjoys in common with his subject the facile romanticism which can pick out telling incidents and work them up, ignore faults and failures, and present a heroic figure before a short-memoried, uncritical public. For the lighter sort of modern "hero" he has enough material to work upon. The poor Welsh village boy, tended by the pious shoe-maker uncle who has premonitions of his greatness, his "catechism" rebellion in the national school before the days of "conscience clauses," his discovery of the gift of speech, the emergence of the village Hampden, his bearding of the local potentates as young solicitor and candidate for Parliament, his early struggles for the cause of Welsh nationalism in the House, his bold fight against the criminal imperialism of the Boer War, his admission into the 1906 Government as a chief of free-lance radicalism, the challenge to the Lords in his famous 1909 budget, followed by his "revolutionary" land policy—all these incidents supply movement and color to Mr. Spender's story. The working up is flamboyant and rhetorical, filled with interjectory commendation, such as "ever ready to face the music," "sound at heart but not a saint," "My audience is the country."

But since every statesman now stands or falls on his war record, Mr. Spender's best industry is given to showing how fortunate the country and the world have been in having at its disposal in this supreme emergency a man of just intuition and magnificent energy, who would, at the crisis of his country's cause, resist the scruples which might have made a lesser statesman hesitate, and seize the reins of power that were his by right. The account given by Mr. Spender of the ejectment of Mr. Asquith by Mr. George ("torpedoing" the unkind critics called it) attains some degree of accuracy by sticking to a bare record of events, and eschewing all reasonable speculations upon motives and manners. Here we have a characteristic example

of the qualities and defects of this biography. Mr. Asquith was without question a poor leader of his nation in a struggle demanding resource and initiation. Mr. George had, and knew he had, these advantages. The action he took was for the good of the country. But the pretense that the patriotic motive was paramount, that no alloy of self-glory and personal will to power was present, is quite unconvincing to any one who has followed closely Mr. George's career.

Not merely by such false interpretation of events but by false attribution of qualities and acquirements Mr. Spender fabricates his hero. He attributes to him "insight into deep truths" and treats his generous feelings as solid principles. He has even the audacity to speak of Mr. George as "well read" and he tells us (on the strength of a short trip) that he "knew Germany." Now Mr. George has no principles of statecraft, knows little of past history, or of the current history of other countries. To do him justice, he never professes to deal in principles. Politics is to him the art of opportunism, each issue to be dealt with when it comes up "on its merits," and conformably with the expediencies of the moment, with very little regard to distant events, which may or may not occur. In one sense he is a realist. "Things are what they are" to him. But to hold that "their consequences will be what they will be" would be carrying causation or speculation too far. His realism, moreover, is tempered by a spice of sentimentalism where visible oppression of class or nationality comes in. This justifies Mr. Spender in representing him as temperamentally upon the side "of the under dog." But this sympathy goes, after all, a very little way as guaranty of sound statecraft. Mr. George is primarily an orator and at a time when oratory is most dangerous. He is an improviser of policies at a time when far-seeing judgment is most necessary. He is always at the mercy of other people's sources of information, having no stock of knowledge of his own. He is quick at picking the brains of those about him, but not so good at choosing whom to put about him. And his pick does not go deep. Never in modern English history has so light a man been at the head of affairs in so grave a time.

All the risks involved in such a situation Mr. Spender ignores. His consistent policy (or should I say dialectical device?) is to slur over or ignore facts that damage his hero. For American readers his treatment of the Bullitt incident will suffice to illustrate. "The proposal brought by Mr. Bullitt [from Russia] was not an offer from the Bolsheviks but the suggestion of an offer by the Allies—a very different thing." And he adds: "The proposals were not written down by the Bolsheviks but conveyed to Mr. Bullitt, who placed them on record." Now, as readers of *The Nation* are aware, Mr. Bullitt took out to Russia a draft in the handwriting of one of the British secretaries, which, though not a formal proposal, was intended to convey the terms acceptable to Mr. George. He brought back a reply to the effect that an offer along the lines of the draft with certain other provisions would be favorably considered by the Bolsheviks. Mr. Spender says not a word of the falsehoods told by Mr. George to Parliament relating to his acquaintance with Mr. Bullitt.

Even more audacious is the account of the 1918 general election. Not a word of Mr. George's furious appeal for the Kaiser's head and the whole cost of the war in indemnities—election pledges which, futile as they turn out to be, were deeply responsible for the base peace which Clemenceau and his colleagues put upon Mr. George and Mr. Wilson. But Mr. Spender's treatment of this whole historical episode is one of elaborate sophistication. He defends the secret conduct of negotiations, and pretends that the innumerable violations of the principles which the Allies solemnly undertook to embody in the peace were a justifiable compromise between the idealism of Mr. Wilson and the proposals of Clemenceau, which latter he euphemistically terms "a peace of security!" And yet he assures us that Mr. George and Mr. Wilson were "really kindred

spirits." "Both came from Puritan stock, and the high idealism and noble integrity of President Wilson's character must have often recalled to Mr. Lloyd George that splendid uncle who had taught and nurtured him!" The book is rich in such strokes of undesigned humor. Perhaps the finest is Mr. Spender's presentation of the man who is practicing every wile of statecraft to hold together his discordant band of profiteers, so as to maintain a working majority and keep office, as a high-souled patriot filled with "the vision of a state deliberately consenting to sink faction in the cause of a larger purpose—of a community which, with all its passion for the healthy strife of party, can tell when to forego that strife, and can scent the danger from afar." Few men save Mr. Spender could have penned that sentence. Yes, Mr. George has a keen nose for dangers that threaten his safety. But this keenness has cost his country and the world pretty dear. For, in maneuvering to keep in power, he has had to stoop to the lowest depths of popular passion and credulity, to support terms of peace he knew to be impracticable and disastrous, to buy Mr. Churchill and his following with the Russian war, and Sir Edward Carson with what now comes near an Irish war.

Mr. Spender represents his hero typically as a man of vision, faith, and sympathetic imagination. There is one supreme test of this time—the League of Nations. Mr. George's biographer indulges in desperate wriggles to support his assertion that "he profoundly believes in the League of Nations." Apart from the fact that profundity is the last expression to apply to any of Mr. George's facile beliefs, this is Mr. Spender's own admission that the Prime Minister felt "there was an element of unreality in the drafting of a set constitution for the League," and preferred that it should grow insensibly out of the Peace Conference. This, of course, is what has happened and has made it not a league of nations.

J. A. HOBSON

History and History

The United States: An Experiment in Democracy. By Carl Becker. Harper and Brothers.

The United States in Our Own Times 1865-1920. By Paul L. Haworth. Charles Scribner's Sons.

TO the mind of the speculative student these two books on American history will suggest a long line of interesting reflection. Both are by American scholars of approved training and academic distinction. Mr. Becker is professor of European history at Cornell and doubtless more occupied with the gigantic labors of Diderot than with the multitudinous volumes of American *Foreign Relations*. Mr. Haworth is acting professor of American history at Indiana University and more at home with the *Congressional Record* than with that mighty pile, the *Moniteur*. Mr. Becker writes a series of essays on the evolution of American democracy in its relation to government, land, slavery, education, diplomacy, immigration, and equality, ending in a serious discussion of pressing problems and a suggestion that education holds the promise of the future. Mr. Haworth writes a textbook in recent history for college students, giving us a clue to what an able and experienced teacher thinks proper and acceptable in the realm of higher education to which we are to look for guidance and salvation.

The first of these books is the story of the way in which the aristocracy of colonial times has been supplanted by a political democracy, slavery disposed of, the public domain parceled out into homesteads, the alien brought to our shores, and education made universal. It is a plain story told by a man with an eye for the real instead of the mythical. Mr. Becker does not resort to special dispensation or to heroic qualities, but finds the secret of American democracy in the conditions of American life. He knows the limits of our boasted toleration and the intimate character of our prosperity. He refuses to work up a frenzy over the trade union "dictation" manifest in the

Adamson law. On the contrary he coldly remarks that for a quarter of a century capitalists "dictated" to the government at Washington (for which he has the high authority of President Wilson) and that now two are playing the same game. He thinks that the trade unionist has historic, if not ethical, justification for selling as little as possible for as much as he can get. He does not shed any tears over Mr. Haworth's "great general public" which imagines itself so virtuous. He casts doubt upon the benevolence of our business men, suggesting that the average among them does not even have the interest in his employees that induced the master of a slave gang to see that his chattels were well fed and comfortable. In fact, he thinks Americans are one flesh with all the world and that now the free land is gone we face the same problems that Europe faces. Being a historian and not a preacher he offers no simple remedies; but he evidently believes that we may expect a widening of the functions of the state. Moreover he seems to rely upon education to point the way out—not the education that merely reflects and confirms the conditions of life, but the education that understands and surmounts them.

Mr. Haworth evidently does not believe that a college course in recent American history can break with the accredited pre-conceptions. He gives us a straightforward, chronological account of the last fifty years. Here we find the recognized staples: the force bill, Ku Klux Klan, Greenbacks, resumption, the Hayes-Tilden dispute, the frontier, "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," free silver, imperialism, the Sherman Act, the strenuous life, reclamation, "onward-Christian-soldiers," and the-world-safe-for-democracy. They are all presented in an easy, flowing style which carries the reader along on the current of narration. All the ceremonials are performed with clean hands. Greenbackism was "a craze," Russia was a traitor to the Allies, the recent labor disturbance in Seattle was an attempt to start the Bolshevik revolution, Ole Hanson was the "courageous" mayor who saved the day (reward not mentioned), the Department of Justice really discovered a Bolshevik plot to overthrow our government, and everything the Kaiser did was a part of the great conspiracy against the babes in the woods. To social and industrial questions Mr. Haworth assigns "a large share of space," but he cautions us against "swinging too far in that direction." In accordance with that caution he gives seven lines to the rise of the American Federation of Labor, without describing its peculiar policies in detail, and thirteen entertaining lines to Cleveland's very interesting courtship and marriage. Thoroughly conversant with modern movements, Mr. Haworth recognizes the antithesis between political democracy and economic plutocracy and in his concluding chapter he mentions the new phases of the old struggle: "populism, progressivism, socialism, and Bolshevism." But of the many reforms, he thinks it fitting to discuss in some detail only one, namely, a heavy inheritance tax to disperse concentrated wealth—a device which, as he says, now has the support of many eminent men like Vice-President Marshall. Perhaps, after all, this is as far as we need to go in view of the fact that Mr. Roosevelt's "vigorous deeds and denunciations of dishonesty" drove away "the noxious vapors that were poisoning American public and private life."

In short, it appears that the college teacher of history should discard none of the pontificalia approved by the elder statesmen of the American Historical Association. He should never apply to the reputable lore of the middling orders the Socratic elenchus or, as Lord Morley would say, any other engine of skepticism or verification. He must make no frontal assault upon the great commonplace. He must upset no reliquaries or thuribles. He must omit no rubrics or lectionaries. He cannot essay the role of Jeremiah against the Philistines or invoke the spirit of Buckle or Darwin. If such is the evident judgment passed upon collegiate instruction in history by a scholar of understanding and discernment, like Mr. Haworth, how can Mr. Becker expect the emancipation of education from "the pressure of economic and social tendencies"?

CHARLES A. BEARD

Divine Personality and Human Life

Divine Personality and Human Life. By Clement C. J. Webb. The Macmillan Company.

THIS volume contains the second part of the Gifford Lectures, delivered in the University of Aberdeen in 1918-1919. Mr. Clement Webb is *facile princeps* among English writers upon the philosophy of religion, and he has what is not common in his class, a singularly simple and lucid style. He is at his best in criticism; his well-known critical handling of Durkheim's group-theory of religion is a much more convincing piece of work than the present volume or its predecessor, "God and Personality." Perhaps this is inevitable. It is no doubt easier to expose the defects in another man's view than it is to make a wholly water-tight case for your own. This, however, must not be taken as meaning that the book now before us is only second-rate. On the contrary it belongs to the front ranks of its class. The trouble is simply that works on the philosophy of religion are always fated to end with a note of interrogation.

It is not easy to define Mr. Webb's philosophical position. He differs from the Absolute Idealists in affirming that in some sense or other the ultimate ground and meaning of the Universe is personal. He believes in a "personal" God. On the other hand he denies the validity of the position of the Personal Idealists who "give to the *personal* principle of unity in our experience a priority over the *rational*." He retains the rationalism of the Oxford Hegelian school without allowing it to carry him over to that arid and cheerless devotion to the Absolute which is meat and drink to Mr. Bradley. That is to say, Mr. Webb is not merely a philosopher of religion; he is a religious philosopher.

In the first series of the Gifford Lectures, Mr. Webb argues for the idea of a "personal God," meaning by the definition a God with whom men may have personal intercourse. But the expression "personal God" is intended to express not so much the notion of "the personality of God" so much as that of "personality in God." And if this seems to the reader to be a distinction without a difference, it must be answered that the distinction is very important indeed. For the phrase "the personality of God" may suggest a unitary God, and according to Mr. Webb, the God of the Christian tradition is a Trinity. When you speak of "personality in God," you leave the door open to a conception of God as being fully personal, that is to say, social. The Doctrine of the Trinity gives you a God who not only has personality, but is a society. Now in this second series, Mr. Webb turns to an examination of how the conception of divine personality is affected by those specialized activities in which human personality expresses itself. He inquires how far the idea of a personal God fits into the attitudes and necessities of the economic life, the scientific life, the aesthetic life, the moral life, the political life; and concludes with an examination of the value of the individual in the philosophy of the Absolute and Personal Idealists, and a final chapter on the destiny of the individual person. It is unnecessary to tell those who know Mr. Webb's work that the whole inquiry is very carefully and candidly carried through. The lecturer cannot be charged with unfairly weighting the scales in favor of his own argument. Sometimes indeed he seems to give gratuitous over-weight to considerations that obstruct the conclusion that he wishes to reach; though it must also be admitted that in one or two places he appears to infer more from friendly considerations than is legitimate. It is, for instance, difficult to follow him when he says that the conception of "corporate personality" (as applied, say, to the state) helps us to a conception of personality in God. It all depends upon how you conceive of the state, and one suspects a little residuum of the Hegelian doctrine of the state in Mr. Webb's view of it. But these are minor and infrequent blemishes in what is a massive and (so far as the

subject-matter allows) a convincing argument. It is not impossible that Mr. Webb's interpretation of "personality in God" may provide that much-needed philosophical *via tertia* for those of us who cannot go the narrow road of Absolutist Monism or the broad road of Pragmatist Pluralism.

This brief notice gives no idea of the extent of ground which Mr. Webb's inquiry covers. For instance, in his chapter on the aesthetic life, there is an important analysis of William Blake's theological scheme; and in the chapter on Naturalism and the Value of the Individual, the problem of the pathological dissociation of personality is discussed in connection with the question of the relative priority of the personal and rational principles in the handling of human experience. These are but two examples of the range over which Mr. Webb's investigation carries him, and they suggest how broad and varied is the survey of the relevant data from which he weaves his argument. Altogether the reading of the book is a rich experience, and its comparative freedom from the jargon of the philosophical schools makes it available for a much wider circle of readers than is usually the case with this kind of literature.

R. R.

Sociology in Two Dimensions

The Principles of Sociology. By Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Company.

THE most obvious feature of this work is its comprehensiveness. Professor Ross has not only duly registered and pigeonholed a vast variety of social phenomena, but has likewise undertaken the far more delicate task of helping people "arrive at wise decisions as to social policies." Unfortunately the rationale of his system is not explicitly set forth either for its theoretical or its practical implications. Why he employs his particular categories in the order given remains far from clear, and we are left with the suspicion that the mode of presentation is one that has come from experience in the classroom. For the practical philosophy, too, there is no overt statement, but here the deficiency is of lesser moment because the author's basic principles generally stand out with sufficient transparency. Another salient characteristic of the book is the range of the data from which illustrative material is culled. Mr. Ross is a far-traveled writer, who has literally surveyed mankind from China to Peru. His instances have frequently the piquancy of an eye-witness's report, and even apart from personal reminiscences he reveals a genuine talent for the use of striking and even convincing examples. The admirable opening paragraphs of the chapter on Ossification may be cited by way of illustration. From this it follows that Mr. Ross has none of the speculative writer's horror of facts. He has a complex in quite the opposite direction: of all the numerous problems treated there is probably not a single one that is settled by an appeal to first principles or argued out on its merits. The author has very decided opinions on the most difficult moot-questions; but apparently he has arrived at them intuitively or for some obscure reason has covered the tracks of his reasoning processes.

Mr. Ross's treatment of the race problem is especially illuminating as to this intellectual idiosyncrasy, precisely because he is not at all an extremist on this subject. He recognizes the influence exerted by social conditions and he rejects "the doctrine of the intellectual superiority of whites over the rest of humanity"; he finds no ground for believing that any people is warranted in oppressing, dispossessing, or exterminating any portion of mankind; the comparative brain power of the races is represented as not yet finally settled. But this exemplary caution goes hand in hand with an astonishingly extravagant credulity. He quotes himself with approval regarding the innate superiority of the Nordic in ethical endowment over the South European as proved by comparison of their conduct at marine

disasters. While on one page the establishment of racial differences is made to depend on the future development of psychological experimentation, the preceding page shows a quite naive acceptance of what "unbiased observers" say about the Chinese in relation to the Japanese, about the aboriginal Peruvian superiority to the Indian of Ecuador, and so forth. "Some of these contrasts may be due to opportunity, stimulation, or social inheritance," we are told, "but surely not all." Why not all? And if so, by what objective criterion can one determine what is due to race and what to social circumstances? On this fundamental question there is complete silence. Again, the author is convinced that the famous Celtic temperament is no myth: "I believe," he says, "that the innate mental differences between Celtic Irish and 'John Bull' English or between Bretons and Normans exceed those between the Chinese of North China and the old Americans." It would be interesting to get the evidence for this bold generalization and also to have it formulated in intelligible biological terms.

It is not the position assumed by Mr. Ross that is primarily criticized here, but his short-hand method of arriving at results without disclosing their foundation and his failure to note that he is advancing mutually contradictory conceptions. While this refusal to go to the bottom of a problem, this phobia of philosophical argumentation, is typical of the theoretical portion of the book, its practical doctrines are marred by a corresponding fault. Many of them are sound enough, but they are sound to the point of being truisms meaningless without further development. Mr. Ross liberally showers us with counsels of perfection, but how to apply them in a universe far from the best conceivable is another matter. Apropos of miscegenation we read: "When precious culture elements are in danger of being diluted and finally lost by fusion, the prohibition of intermarriage is justifiable." Very well; but who is to decide when there is danger and what is precious? Again, who ever denied that all important posts in society should be manned by the talented rather than the "dunderheads." But that experimental psychology of itself will suffice to oust the numbskulls supported by privilege and their self-interest is to lay a severe tax on our optimism. To cite one more example that hardly requires comment: "In the piloting of society no valuable element should have either too little influence or too much influence."

Alike baneful from a theoretical and practical angle is Mr. Ross's conception of progress. He realizes that spiritual and social progress is not so obvious as material advancement, yet characteristically enough there is not the slightest attempt at demonstrating its reality. It never seems to have dawned upon him that other aspirations than those of Western civilization might have claims to equal consideration, and Western civilization itself appears in that somewhat specialized and attenuated form it assumes in Ottumwa and Kalamazoo from which some of us shrink in Nietzschean anguish. Passages there are, to be sure, in which the common-sense cosmopolitanism bred of travel asserts itself, but they are submerged in the habitual and essential attitude. So trivial a feature as the all-day service of the dining-cars in Russia is mentioned as an example of the inferiority of Russian standards. In the course of an extraordinary dialogue between an imaginary emotionalist and an intellectual occurs the following passage: "The emotionalist urges: 'How cruel to ostracize this girl for giving herself outside the marriage relation!' The intellectual [sic] queries: 'Is there any other way to keep girls from yielding to their tempters?'"

As a final sample of his thinking may be cited Mr. Ross's comments on alien religions. He completely fails to understand that the "lower" religions represent values to their votaries that are quite as definite and unassailable as those associated with our own. That "the value difference between religions is enormous" is true only in the sense that to any believer his own faith is to all others as infinity to zero. Some religions may, indeed, "embody man's highest aspirations," but I know of none that can fairly be said to "embody his animal impulses."

In short, Mr. Ross's cardinal fault is lack of historical-mindedness. He accepts as absolute the standards found or conceived in his own social environment and seems generally incapable of a Kantian critique of their validity. One need not wonder that he brands as decadent the noble efforts of the great critical thinkers of France and elsewhere. Yet with all its defects "The Principles of Sociology" remains a work of real utility. Though the author's resolute determination not to think anything through may deter the philosophical student, the vast scope of the book with its wealth of illustrative material may well commend it to the teacher of sociology.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

Ladies and Women

The Learned Lady in England 1650-1760. By Myra Reynolds. Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century. By Alice Clark. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

DOROTHY OSBORNE writes to her lover, about 1652: "The heat of the day is spent in reading or working, and about six or seven o'clock I walk out into a common that lies hard by the house, where a great many young wenches keep sheep and cows and sit in the shade singing of ballads." As befits a "learned lady," Dorothy is reminded of classic pastorals. Only now and then do the learned ladies throw light on the working life of their sisters. Had the Dorothy Osbornes and Dudley Norths guessed that a twentieth century woman "research student of the London School of Economics and Political Science" would pore over household accounts, state papers, private letters, and the records of parishes, courts, and guilds, in the effort to picture woman's place in the economic organization of their day, they might have made her task easier by doing a little volunteer field work in sociology. Field work would perhaps have saved Dudley North from that fatal "sedentary distemper" which carried her off after her conquest of Greek, Latin, and the Oriental languages. Most of the learned ladies whose achievements fill Miss Reynolds's rather formidable volume were of noble or gentle birth. A gardener's daughter or so does not destroy the general impression of class accomplishment. And though the economic motive for authorship emerges before the close of the period studied, and the desire to see themselves in print—even under a pseudonym—becomes common, their learning was mainly for the solace and delight of themselves and their circle of friends and relatives.

"Learned" signifies in seventeenth-century usage anything from the solid Anglo-Saxon scholarship of Elizabeth Elstob to a mere taste for books and a facility in the composition of slight poems. Ladies were learned if their chosen pursuits had to do with things of the mind, or if they were demanding new freedom of self-expression, new training, new opportunities. Actresses of the Restoration stage are caught in Miss Reynolds's net, because they opened up a new profession for women, though their pursuits (having to do largely with King Charles's courtiers) were far from intellectual. The accident of a favorable home environment fostered the learned lady's development. Schools for anything but deportment and trivial accomplishments—where one might learn to embroider in lively colors "four hundred new sorts of Birds, Beasts, Fish, Flyes, Worms"—were virtually non-existent. The efforts of a Mrs. Makin or a Mary Astell to organize sound education for girls did little but promote discussion. But in homes of cultured leisure, like those of the Norths or the Evelyns, a studious girl met with encouragement. An archbishop might direct her training, or a John Locke teach her divinity and philosophy. At the least, she might, like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, have the run of a fine library. Usually the "learned" bent revealed itself early. The "matchless Orinda" read the Bible through before she was four and carried away whole sermons in her memory. Amazing that her gift for gracious intercourse survived these appalling religious

performances! Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson as a child inflicted grave instruction upon her playmates and "plucked all their babies to pieces." On the whole, even in favorable cases, there was little of the systematic study, the exacting mental discipline, provided even for girls a century before in several great Tudor households. Miss Reynolds sums up the period as one of beginnings, promises with few results, "a lavish sowing of seed, a steady infiltration of new ideas, a breaking up of old certainties as to woman's place in domestic and civic life, and an accumulation of examples proving women capable of the most varied aptitudes and energies."

What held back the intellectual development of women? Why (as Lady Mary wrote from the safe refuge of Italy) was no art omitted to stifle their natural reason? Why does the eccentric Duchess of Newcastle hope that her book may be received "for the good encouragement of our sex, lest in time we should grow irrational as idiots"? The reason lies partly in the firm clutch on the seventeenth-century mind, male and female, of the terse Miltonic "He for God only, she for God in him." The most advanced demanded little more for women than freedom to read and study if they so desire. Even Mrs. Makin, educational pioneer, claims only that her training will make wives more reasonably and intelligently submissive. The Marquis of Halifax, it is true, admits that a weak husband must be controlled—but with all outward deference—for his own good: "You must be very undexterous," he advises his daughter, "if when your husband shall resolve to be an Ass, you do not take care he may be your Ass." To be submissive, however intelligently, to an Ass—little intellectual stimulus there! But if the husband happened to be a man of culture, a Sir William Temple, or a Colonel Hutchinson (who saw his future wife's Latin books before he saw her face and promptly fell in love), a wife might best please her husband by developing her mind.

Miss Clark gives due weight to this doctrine of female submission in accounting for the decline in the standard of woman's education and in her social and economic position during the century. But her study reveals the operation of economic forces as well. The basis of production was beginning to shift from the still predominating "family industry" organization to the capitalistic. Family industry offered wide scope for woman's energies; the family (including servants and apprentices) was a productive unit for goods to be sold or exchanged; the workshop was within the home precincts, the family owned stock and tools. Wives of independent farmers and of husbandmen, who supplemented the family income by day labor but worked their own little plots of ground as well, fed and clothed their families—spinning wool and flax, brewing, baking, gardening, raising poultry, managing dairies, helping in the harvest. Woolen and linen thread not needed by the family was sold. In the towns the wives of craftsmen in skilled and semi-skilled trades and of shopkeepers and retailers were the business partners, assistants, and frequently successors of their husbands. Servants relieved them of mere domestic drudgery. Though specialized training in the trades was seldom given to women, there was ample scope for their general intelligence and common sense. Women were engaged in the provision trades; we read of the unruly oyster wives, tripe wives, and herb wives of London. And up and down the bad country roads went women peddlers, pack on back, and buyers and sellers of butter, eggs, and poultry. Laws to curb profiteering and prevent corners in food were often enforced against these poor women, in the interest of their strong competitors, the shopkeepers; while the "great Ingrossers," quite in the modern fashion, escaped.

The woolen industry was already organized on capitalistic lines and drew largely on women for its supply of spinsters. Women who had to depend upon their spinning for subsistence were unorganized and badly exploited, and in the frequent seasons of depression starving women and children came on the parish. Linen spinners were also mainly women, of the pauper class, recruited from the undernourished wives of the landless day laborers. Women were thus beginning to be forced into the

open labor market, without organization or specialized training, and their product diverted from the family to the benefit of the capitalist or consumer. The sweated woman wage earner at the bottom of the scale is a portent of change. Equally significant is the appearance at the top of the parasite leisure class woman. Though the records of the century show able business women in every class (many ladies of the aristocracy managed large estates, especially during the troubled Civil War days), they also reveal a diminishing contact with business and affairs as the century progresses. Wives of men who became capitalists withdrew from productive activity. The rapid growth of wealth opened up possibilities of idleness to women of the upper class. New theories of the state made no place for women in public affairs. Fortunately considerate husbands like Pepys saw the necessity of "making" work for wives who were not always duly appreciative. Mrs. Pepys, in fact, became convinced, he tells us, that "my very keeping of the house in dirt . . . is but to find her employment and keep her within and from minding of her pleasure, which, though I am sorry to see she minds it, is true enough in a great degree."

DOROTHY BREWSTER

A Slav in the Austrian Consular Service

The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue: or, How the World War Was Brought About. By Dr. Joseph Goricar, formerly of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Service, and Lyman Beecher Stowe. Doubleday, Page and Company.

In the spring of 1914 Professor William M. Sloane of Columbia University published a volume in which he ventured to depart from the field of history into the dangerous realms of prophecy so far as to say: "This [Serbia] is the land which by reason of its name and language aspires to leadership and control in the creation of the Greater Serbia. The passion for this ideal among all Serbo-Croats is a species of imperial insanity. The Serbians of little Serbia expound it in their newspapers, they set it forth in their school-books, nourishing their young on wind; it is the stock in trade of the demagogue, the theme of the rhymer, the subject of baby talk and cradle song." Before the end of that very year the age-old dream of the oppressed Slavs of Austria-Hungary and the theme of the rhymers of little Serbia had been converted into action, and the eyes of the world were opened as to the manner in which the Jugoslavs could fight and endure for the accomplishment of a national ideal. Which simply proves how far one can go wrong, even if one is a distinguished authority, in deciding off-hand that shadowy national aspirations are always vain. It is not as a scoffer, therefore, that one must approach the main theme of Dr. Goricar's interesting book—the theme of a great Pan-Slav union, reaching from Siberia to the Adriatic, from the Baltic to the Aegean. Yet it must frankly be said that it is, and probably will remain, a dream—and nothing but a dream.

Dr. Goricar tells us that the new Jugoslav state is to be the prototype for all Slavdom hereafter. But making one state out of the Southern Slavs is a very different thing from making one state out of the Southern Slavs and the Western Slavs and the Eastern Slavs. Between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (who compose the South Slav bloc) there are, indeed, differences of religion, customs, and orthography; yet the spoken language of all three is identical, the national traditions and ideals are identical, the sufferings of the various sections of the people under foreign masters, Turk and Magyar and Austrian, have been identical, and in addition there are no geographic or economic factors which make union really difficult. But consider uniting the various nations which own themselves as Slavic; imagine, for example, a union of the Bulgars with the Serbs, of the Ruthenes with the Poles, of the Ukrainians with the Poles, of the Poles with the Russians. Not only are there present great differences in religion and in written language, but the speech of one section is entirely incomprehensible in another, there are utterly dis-

similar customs and ideals, there is a history of bitter strife and persecutions, a present of jealousies and exploitations, and a future of antagonistic ambitions. With the original components of the Southern Slav bloc there have been comparatively few admixtures of alien stocks—some Turkish (but the Turkish strain is not enduring like the Semitic), some Albanian, a little Austrian, and that is about all. But literally over fifty non-Slavic stocks have mingled to a greater or less degree with the tribes that go to make up Slavdom as a whole. The Bulgars were originally Turcoman and so remain, despite their adoption of a Slav dialect; the Albanians are not Slav, and would be included in Pan-Slavia only over their undying protests; the Poles are very largely Germanized and the Serbs of Lusatia completely so. Then there has been a considerable admixture of Turkish and various Caucasian bloods in the south, of Finnish, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and a dozen other non-Slav strains in the north, of Tartar, Mongol, and Kirghiz stock (there are over four million Kirghiz dwelling compactly in the southern Siberian steppes) to the west, not to speak of the vast and widespread masses of Jews (about five millions) who cling to their religion and preserve their separate habits and ideals with the greatest persistence. Slavdom, which Dr. Goricar tells us would comprise well over a hundred and fifty million persons, is a mighty but unhomogeneous collection of peoples, and the possibility of their ever submitting to union under one strong government cannot but be considered as remote—to western European peoples, comfortably remote.

Dr. Goricar is a Jugoslav from the mountainous province of Styria, formerly a part of the Hapsburg Empire. We are informed that he entered the Austro-Hungarian consular service with the idea that as many representatives of the oppressed races as possible should have a share in executing the policies of the government under which they were forced to live. He was sent in 1907 to be Austro-Hungarian consul at Belgrade, where at that time the notorious Magyar nobleman, Count Forgach, was minister. It was while Dr. Goricar was in Belgrade that the Nastich "revelations" of supposed anti-Austrian plots were framed as a hopeful *casus belli* against Serbia; and the next year, when he was consul at Nish, Austria-Hungary turned its "temporary administration" of Bosnia-Herzegovina into outright annexation, thereby throwing the whole Slav world into a ferment and creating a situation where war was averted only by Russia's and Serbia's moderation. Apparently during the Bosnian crisis Dr. Goricar allowed some of his Slav sympathies to find expression, for he was recalled from Serbia and ordered to a quiet post at Denver, Colorado, on the eve of a third Austrian attempt to provoke war, this time by means of new "revelations" which were vouched for by a celebrated Viennese historian, Dr. Friedjung. Dr. Friedjung alleged that the Serbian Government was engaged in planning with the leaders of the Serbo-Croat Coalition party in Croatia for the overthrow of the Hapsburgs, and to support the accusation he produced a set of documents which, when published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, provoked a wave of chauvinism across the two Central Empires. The entire Serbo-Croat coalition promptly sued him for libel, but dropped the charge under pressure from the government when Dr. Friedjung admitted the documents to be forgeries and made a public retraction of his wild statements. There is no opportunity here for a review of the closely-woven chain of Germanic intrigue on which Dr. Goricar establishes his thesis that the Central Powers had determined not to postpone a decisive war with Russia and Serbia beyond 1916, and if possible to provoke it in 1914 or 1915. The various steps in the plan, culminating in the excellent opportunity for aggression furnished by the murder of the Archduke, are interestingly though repetitiously described.

Although the greater part of the historical material introduced by Dr. Goricar is not new, he manages to throw a number of fresh side-lights on the general program of the German-Austrian-Magyar war parties, especially by making use of numerous quotations from the press of Vienna and Berlin. Reliance on newspaper opinion is notoriously dangerous, but Dr.

Gorcar quotes so profusely and intelligently that his case is materially strengthened. After the extraordinary scenes in which Nastich, Forgach, Friedjung, and the other opera bouffe characters hold the center of the stage, perhaps we are most interested by the chapters dealing with the intrigues of Berlin and Vienna to prevent the formation of any sort of a Balkan confederation, even one under the influence and control of Austria. A hostile confederation of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, and Bulgaria would have been a decided menace, and Austria determined to prevent its formation at all costs; but a confederation friendly to Austria was not considered more desirable, since in that case Austria would be somewhat embarrassed in dealing relentlessly with any member state that might be in the way when the time came to strike toward Salonica and Constantinople.

The almost inevitable bias of the author is not so much Jugoslav as Slav, so that he is able to contemplate seriously the possibility of forming the United States of Slavia and to look forward hopefully to a time when the Slav race will "surpass the western Europeans in numbers and importance." But this bias, which is quickly recognized and discounted, does not detract from the interest and instructiveness of the book; rather does it add to them, by introducing the reader into a genuine and enthusiastic Pan-Slavist atmosphere.

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG

Foreign Rights in China

Foreign Rights and Interests in China. By Westel W. Willoughby. The Johns Hopkins Press.

PROFESSOR WILLOUGHBY very aptly describes his treatise as a handbook to the international commitments of China. The work is seriously conceived for the information of those who need to know what privileges are enjoyed by foreigners doing business in the country. It is documented from treaties and diplomatic papers and bristles with schedules and statistics, yet it has a quality that renders it easily read from beginning to end. This happy issue must be ascribed in due degree to the author's admirable style and control of his material; but while the book is a model of what a thesis should be, it possesses, besides its usefulness as a work of reference, a human interest that is altogether compelling. The subject unfolds as a national tragedy. The self-sufficient empire of a century ago, that acknowledged no rival and feared no enemy, has been bound by stipulations which have ravished it of pride, prestige, and the control of its own property. The outline of the story is by this time fairly familiar to even Western ears, but its denouement, comprised in the complex claims and preferential interests now fastened upon China, and understood by only a few in this part of the world, is nowhere more strikingly exposed than in this sober summary of conditions as they are. The situation has aspects that are pregnant with suggestion to the philosopher and statesman, and it is these that call for discussion. Principles of public law are reasonably determined among nations that exercise authority within their own borders, but (to quote the longest sentence in Professor Willoughby's book) "when, as in the case of China, we have a Power which permits the exercise within its limits of all kinds of extra-territorial rights or privileges; when there exist within its territory spheres of interest, special interests, war zones, leased territories, treaty ports, concessions, settlements, and legation quarters; when there are in force multitudes of special engagements to foreign Powers with reference to commercial and industrial rights, railways and mines, loans and currency; when two of its chief revenue services—the maritime customs and the salt tax—are under foreign overhead administrative control or direction; when the proceeds of these and other revenues are definitely pledged to meet fixed charges on foreign indebtedness; when, at various points within its borders, there are stationed considerable bodies of foreign

troops under foreign command—when we have these and other phenomena all carrying with them limitations upon the free exercise by the central government of its ordinary administrative powers or its discretionary right to deal as it deems best with the individual nations with which it maintains treaty relations, we then have a condition of affairs which furnishes abundant material not only for theoretical or academic discussions by students of international jurisprudence, but for serious conflict and dispute between the nations concerned."

To add to these complications we must remember also that commitments have been made in recent years by local governors which have never been approved by the Chinese Parliament and are therefore technically illegal under the existing constitution. In these issues, where money has been received, public opinion in China is still honest enough to acknowledge financial obligations, but it protests concessions granted to foreign agents that are liens upon the natural resources of the country. Nice ethical questions are involved in undertakings assumed by irresponsible mandarins which might seem to release an upright government from recognizing obligations, but the case is made worse when it is realized that many of them have been concocted secretly, so that the government itself does not know all of its liabilities. In such instances, and in the quite indefinite meaning attached to the content of the most-favored-nation clauses in all treaties, lie sources of doubt and international disturbance.

Some idea of the wide range of the interests involved in the covenants under which China labors is obtained from a mere list of the categories examined in this solid volume. They are: Extra-territoriality, foreign commerce (including the tariff, customs administration, likin, and posts), patents, leases and settlements (including missionary rights), spheres of interest, Japanese claims and encroachments, the Open Door, foreign loans, and railway control. In countries really autonomous most of these are instantly recognized as matters of domestic concern. When they are not the state is actually a dependency of some one or more outside Powers; if of more than one they are bound sooner or later to quarrel over interpretations. One has only to follow the evolution of the items on this list to comprehend the subtle and inevitable force of economic pressure in the political world when competing nations strive for mastery in a country at once unable and unwilling to defend itself by military force. They may begin softly—as we have done—when there is no acute urgency at home, but they become greedy in time. The increment of foreign aggression in China has been due to economic need, mitigated, however, by the dangers involved in an attempt to conquer and govern such a homogeneous mass as the people of China. As the *corpus vile* among modern nations this mass has been condemned to sundry and various experiments by statesmen and capitalists of the great Powers whose cooperative action during eighty years has resulted in fashioning bonds and stipulations the like of which have never been seen before in the world's history. There it stands today, a marvel of impotence, and none so poor as to do it reverence as a nation, yet with such enormous potential strength and value that none would be allowed by the others to seize and exploit it. How long can the unstable equilibrium created by this anomalous condition endure? A triumphant Germany might have tried to incorporate its vast domain in her empire; Japan would willingly renew the ambition of Hideyoshi but for the fear of Europe and America combined against her. China may yet be parceled out when the economic pressure is severe enough to compel the harpy Powers to reach some agreement. There is time before this crisis arrives, however, for her regeneration through an effective centralized government and the administrative reforms necessary to equip a state for modern subsistence, but this must be attained by the mediation of those who have brought her to this parlous state. To help China to regain control over her domestic concerns seems to be the only alternative to awaiting the climax of partition.

FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS

Treitschke's History

History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century. By Heinrich von Treitschke. Volumes V, VI, and VII. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Robert M. McBride and Company.

THE completion of the translation of Treitschke's "History of Germany" finds one conjecturing how many readers the monumental work is now likely to have. In the early period of the great war when it was not considered too preposterous to speak of Bernhardi, Treitschke, and Nietzsche as the triumvirate who had corrupted modern Germany, the bare mention of the temperamental Berlin professor's name was a signal for heated argument. Whatever he had written was sure to be read with keen interest and interpreted in the light of current events. Now, however, people are too much involved in the lamentable sequela of the war to care to probe much into its causes, proximate or remote. But no matter what its reception, it is well that the translation has been carried through to the end; the work ought long since to have been available for English-speaking readers. On the whole, the translators have performed their task acceptably. It is assuredly no easy matter to give an adequate rendering into a foreign language of a writer who, as is sometimes said, combined the prophetic eloquence of Carlyle with the sprightly clearness of Macaulay. No one would claim for a moment that Eden and Cedar Paul have achieved this unparalleled result. But their translation runs smoothly enough and does not often suggest the foreign idiom.

The introductions to the various volumes by William Harbott Dawson, summarizing admirably the contents and pointing out the salient qualities of Treitschke as they appear in connection with the various periods, almost render the work of a reviewer superfluous. For an Englishman writing about one of his country's arch-enemies Mr. Dawson is singularly unbiased. He does, indeed, rebuke Treitschke for "ill-conditioned snarling at England," but he recognizes unstintingly his insight, acuteness, and complete mastery of his material. One simply does not look for impartiality or inclusive sympathy in Treitschke. He was by nature too dogmatic and intensely subjective for that; when he wrote he nearly always had a theory to substantiate, a prejudice to humor, or a pet aversion to gratify. His frank object was patriotic edification. He said in the preface to the edition of 1889: "I write for Germans. Much water will flow down the Rhine before foreigners will permit us to speak of our country with the pride which has ever characterized the treatises on national history composed by Englishmen or by Frenchmen." Treitschke could not conceive of Prussia ever being in the wrong or of any other country being in the right if it refused to accept the Prussian view of things. All this we must put down to his excess of patriotism and not allow it to detract from our appreciation of his vigor, eloquence, and enthusiasm, his powerful characterizations, and the many sagacious reflections which are interspersed through a narrative which with all its weight and erudition nevertheless continues always to march with a sure tread.

Volume V in the translation covers a comparatively short period—the several years immediately preceding and following the Revolution of July, 1830. Questions of present-day import such as the status of Belgium, Polish independence, the position of Schleswig-Holstein, are here discussed in their beginnings. One notes in passing a characteristic remark of Treitschke's: "Small states are apt to appear ridiculous, for the state is power, and weakness stultifies itself immediately should it attempt to masquerade as power." There is no word of rebuke for German rulers whose idea of statesmanship was to allow grievances to accumulate indefinitely at compound interest. Of course, an exception is made in the case of Austria, which as the hostile rival of Prussia lay outside the range of Treitschke's Germanic sympathies. He exults in the blindness of the

Austrian rulers in sacrificing to Prussia, in return for the simulacrum of political hegemony, the real fruits of economic predominance and the control of federal defense. "There had come into existence two organizations within the Germanic Federation: a fictitious Germany centered in Frankfort and a Germany of honest work centered in Berlin."

The most attractive chapter is the one dealing with the radical, semi-journalistic agitation known as the Young Germany movement. All the "advanced" thought of the thirties respecting politics, sociology, religion, and ethics, may be included under the title. As might be expected, Treitschke issues a harsh and sweeping condemnation of the whole movement. He avers that the minds of the new generation were so corroded by the evil influences of French culture that "the most outstanding product of Protestant Germany, the reconciliation of liberty with piety, was now altogether beyond their understanding." He does not even try to be just to Heine, who is the head and front of the offending tendencies. Heine, he says, possessed "what the Jews have in common with the French, gracefulness of vice which makes even the base and the odious seem alluring for a moment." And again he asserts, referring to the attacks of Börne and Heine upon Prussian reaction: "The Aryan nations have their Thersites and their Loki, but such a character as Ham, who uncovered his father's nakedness, is known only to Jewish saga." "When we speak German," said Goethe in a morose moment, "we lie if we are polite." For Treitschke the radicalism of Young Germany may be summed up in the outrageous paradoxes: property is theft, God is sin, marriage is unchastity. He is the true progenitor of Adolf Bartels and other German anti-Semites of today, much more surely than he is the progenitor of certain other offspring ascribed to him in a great many quarters.

The sixth volume, dealing in the main with German home policy from 1830 to 1845, particularly in its political aspects, is the least interesting of the three which lie before us. Even steady economic progress cannot be made dramatic if it is accompanied by political stagnation. It is a striking merit in Treitschke that he had the courage to lay bare the weakness of the character of Frederick William IV of Prussia, who, he asserts, understood his own heart as little as he understood the hearts of others. The grotesque flirtations of that romantically minded monarch with the Roman Catholic church come in for unsparing ridicule. Treitschke thinks that the uprising of '48 might have been averted if only Prussia and Bavaria had been ruled by men of greater sagacity. The destruction in 1831 of the independence of Cracow, which had been guaranteed by treaty, gives rise to this characteristic comment: "The eternal progress of human affairs cannot be stayed by the letter of treaties."

In the concluding volume the author brings before us the portents of revolution. It seems at first glance like a cruel irony that he had to lay aside his pen just as he was about to tell the story of 1848. That year manifestly marks the parting of the ways for Germany. Should she now go forward consciously and resolutely as a standard-bearer of intellectual and political progress, or fall back still further into the morass of stagnation and obscurantism? Left to themselves the Germans would unquestionably have chosen the worthier and safer alternative. But that is precisely the last conclusion in the world that Treitschke would ever have drawn. His version of the Revolution of 1848, if it had ever been written, would have been a demonstration of the futility of liberalism and of all other forms of idealism in politics. It would have been an additional heavy item on the debit side of the account when his influence came to be summed up. For it was a great misfortune, as later years were to show, that in Treitschke's brilliant masterpiece the Germans saw themselves idealized, their achievements magnified, their importance and place in the world and the community of nations distorted and thrown out of balance.

W. K. STEWART

The Irreconcilable Blind

Bolshevism: An International Danger. By Paul Miliukov. Charles Scribner's Sons.
Sovietism. By William English Walling. E. P. Dutton and Company.

WHEN the Russian revolution broke out and different groups and parties endeavored to organize the first provisional government, there was much discussion about the distribution of portfolios; on one point, however, there was nearly no discussion: it was generally conceded that Paul Miliukov was the only man fit to occupy the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. True, he had his old *idée fixe*, the idea of the acquisition of Constantinople by Russia, but it was confidently hoped that he would understand the new situation created by the revolution and would give up the "liberal imperialism" which he had learned from his political friend Sir Edward Grey. Unfortunately, Miliukov the historian and public man, Miliukov the eloquent orator of the Duma platform and leader of a powerful political party, proved to be a very poor statesman; less than two months after the revolution he was compelled to resign, and he left behind him a reputation as a short-sighted and stubborn politician who could not see the woods for the trees. One might say that as soon as the Czar was overthrown Miliukov lost his social vision. Those who heard his utterances in favor of a monarchy with Nicholas II's brother as its head, or witnessed his practical politics during the revolution, could not believe that this really was Miliukov who now did such strange things.

Now, after a long period of silence, Miliukov has written a book. It was to be expected that far from Russia, in the obscurity of private life in Great Britain, Miliukov might have regained his old masterful qualities as thinker and observer. But in this respect his book proves a disappointment. He denies that it is in the nature of a capitalistic state to be imperialistic and to menace the peace of the world: "Not capitalism in itself, but the exclusively national system of capitalistic production is dangerous." At the same time he refuses to see anywhere but in imperial Germany such an "exclusively national" system of production. On one page he says that "the first [Russian] revolution was national and patriotic and was led by the Duma representatives"; and six pages later he forgets this and confesses: "The Duma was prepared to deal with a dynastic overthrow [Miliukov called it revolution]. . . . The Czar decided to dissolve the Duma. At that very moment, but without any connection with the dissolution of the Duma, a real revolution broke out, starting from different sources and basing itself on forces differing from such as had been confidently expected by the Duma."

Miliukov pays little or no attention to the political conditions and economic factors which are now prevailing in the world. He attributes everything to the wickedness and corruption of the Bolshevik leaders, who, Miliukov still insists, were paid German agents. He tries to prove that they demoralized the Russian army, that their chief goal was to corrupt the soldiers' minds, and that in this they succeeded. Yet a few chapters later he again confesses: "I personally as a member of the Duma received many letters from soldiers at the front which proved that the demoralization of the army had already begun before the revolution of March, 1917"—when no Bolshevik leaders were to be found on the territory of Russia.

The documentation, too, lacks accuracy and power of conviction: many quotations from Geneva and Zürich correspondents to the London *Times* and *Morning Post* based on anonymous "absolutely reliable sources" "prove" that Lenin was an agent of William II. From these facts Miliukov draws the conclusion that in financing the German Spartacists "the Bolsheviks were repaying the German 'capitalists' who supplied them with money for their original propaganda and 'direct action.'" Again, not the stress and strain of the war and the Versailles

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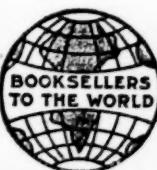
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peace animated extremism in Germany, but Lenin. Miliukov quotes another "fact" which is of special interest for the American reader. Colonel Raymond Robins brought with him from Russia a carload of platinum—apparently as a Bolshevik compensation for services rendered. This is the sort of "facts" given by Miliukov. Beyond any doubt, he here renders a great service to the Bolshevik cause by using "propaganda stuff" which is so easy to refute. One might expect from a man like Miliukov a sounder criticism of Bolshevism, because it can and must be criticized from an entirely different angle. The Machiavellian and Hobbesian principles of Bolshevik philosophy; the centralized, omnipotent, bureaucratic, though socialist state; the suppression of individual initiative; the almost blind devotion to mass movement which is at times bound to become the movement of a mob—all these elements are easy to criticize and easy to denounce; but Miliukov does not even mention them, much less apply to them the analysis which his hostility to Bolshevism might have suggested.

The famous Winnipeg strike, the recent American miners' strike, the general economic unrest and political instability in the New and the Old Worlds, are all interpreted alike: Bolshevik propaganda! As if national economic and political life were such a precarious thing that every propagandist, every soap-box orator could shatter the very foundation of social equilibrium! As if only propaganda were the cause of the decline of Greece or Rome and the Holy Roman Empire and of Old Europe of today, and not the weakness and wickedness of cultures and social orders!

The book is nevertheless interesting as a document which helps us to study the psychology of those of the old world who witness their own passing. Miliukov is at times very sincere. Thus he reports: "When asked by Prince Lvov, I told him that a strong power, which would necessitate a policy like that of Noske's, must be established." "I refused to agree," he confesses further, "to the so-called policy of 'peace without annexations and contributions' on the self-determination principle because I knew there was German intrigue and the spirit of Zimmerwald behind it." The same German and Zimmerwald spirit is discovered by Miliukov even among the Kerensky and Menshevik parties, because at the reception of Albert Thomas and Arthur Henderson in Petrograd their speeches were continually intercepted by queries "What about Ireland? and India? and Morocco?" To plead the cause of Egypt, Miliukov says, is to carry on the old German and Bolshevik plan of sowing revolt among the British colonial subjects. Analyzing the testimonies of "professional men in the intelligence service," Messrs. Tunney and Archibald Stevenson, Miliukov concludes: "In the United States as well as in other Allied countries, but in far larger measure than elsewhere, the Bolshevik activities, just as the Irish, the Indian, the Canadian, are closely interwoven with the previous anti-Ally and pro-German propaganda."

Mr. Walling, too, in his "Sovietism" fails to attack Bolshevism in its weakest point and repeats and emphasizes the same charges of pro-Germanism and anti-Britishism. But *quod licet Jovi non licet bovi*. What Miliukov may say Mr. Walling has hardly the right to say, because he does not possess even a fraction of the facts which Miliukov has observed. Nine-tenths of the book is made up of quotations taken chiefly from the hostile press. With bare quotations one can easily prove that Jesus Christ was a monarchist or else an anarchist. It is worthy of note that Mr. Walling seems to have found one of the clues of Bolshevik philosophy: he emphasizes the militarization of industry which took place in some parts of Russia and which is incompatible with the principle of industrial democracy. It is really a strong point, and one should begin with it; but unfortunately Mr. Walling mentions it only accidentally and then again dives into the characteristic anti-Bolshevist hysteria, which actually denounces anything but Bolshevism and renders a service to anything but democracy and reconciliation.

GREGORY ZILBOORG

The Politician of the Middle Valley

Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895. By Matilda Gresham. Rand, McNally & Company.

"Marse Henry": An Autobiography. By Henry Watterson. George H. Doran Company.

My Quarter Century of American Politics. By Champ Clark. Harper & Brothers.

THESE three heroes of history, Gresham, Watterson, and Champ Clark, belong to the middle valley formed by the Ohio and Missouri rivers. They are descended from those pioneers, Scotch-Irish, German, and English, who crossed the Virginia mountains at the close of the eighteenth century and settled in Tennessee and Kentucky, whence two of the families, the Greshams and Clarks, made their way to Indiana and Missouri, respectively. This middle valley has passed through experiences that have made it less partisan and more tolerant than other sections. When the slavery issue in the middle of the last century became acute, there were not to be found here the irreconcilables of New England and Louisiana. On both sides of the Ohio and along the Missouri Valley lived men familiar with slavery in its milder aspects.

It was in the environment of this middle valley that all three of these historic figures grew up. The shadow of the "War between the States," the popular name for the struggle in this region, hung over all three of the men and darkens many pages of the narratives. Mr. Clark, being only a boy during the war, passes over the story rather lightly; but Mrs. Gresham in the life of her husband and Mr. Watterson in his autobiography devote many pages to this greatest episode in the history of the valley; and both attempt to correct popular misconceptions by a more tolerant interpretation of the attitude of both sides. Gresham was a brigadier general in the Union army and Watterson an officer in the Confederate; their boyhood and young manhood were passed under the threat and actuality of armed strife.

Although the three men differ widely in character, education, and experience, they all express the same tolerance toward their opponents, even the most partisan of them. Mr. Clark is excessive in his admiration of his Republican friends and has slight criticism of their policies. His may be the typical attitude of the politician; still he, as did the two others, breathed in the air of the Ohio Valley, where only the breadth of a river divided the land of freedom from that of slavery and where men learned by wholesome fear of the pistol shot a respect for the opinions of others.

The clause "fear of the pistol shot" is not used in a metaphorical sense, for in the middle valley it was a very real factor in forming public opinion. All three works give evidence that frontier methods of settling disputes passed only yesterday from this land, if it can be said to have passed; and all seem to take it for granted that such sudden endings of disputes belong to the natural order of things. Mrs. Gresham tells the story of a lawyer being shot down at her husband's side by "a delicate, silent young man but a thorough gentleman." "Marse Henry's" notices of such shootings are frequent, and he says that the common knowledge of his own prowess with the gun kept some of the readers of his newspaper from violent assault. Mr. Clark's memories of bloody encounters are very vivid, scenes of bloodshed having been frequent in his life almost from babyhood, and he describes them with great gusto. When still a boy he viewed with interest the swinging bodies of victims of a lynching. The Speaker of the House vouchsafes us this picture of himself in his first campaign for congressman in 1892: "We both (the candidates) went armed to the teeth, expecting a shooting match every time we met, but the very fact that we did expect it, I think, prevented it."

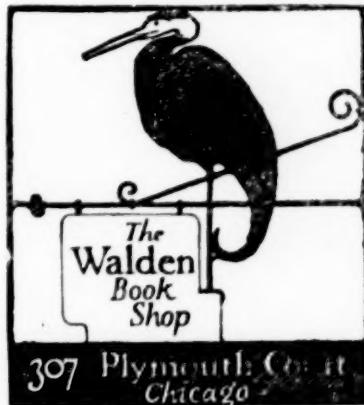
As books, these memoirs are crude and in their crudities represent the undeveloped side of the masses of this middle valley. The men have lived and lived hard; so it is thought

they have something worth saying. Unfortunately neither Mrs. Gresham nor the two men possess the literary ability to write a narrative filling two volumes. In all three cases the unity of the narrative is badly jumbled; a literary hack, hired to revise the manuscripts, would have cut them down from a third to a half and with ease have straightened out the illogical arrangements, the crudities of the paragraphs, the vain repetitions, and tiresome platitudes. Not all of the errors noticed may be explained by the garrulosity of old age. Clark's fitness for a literary career was assured by the fact that the reading of Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry" marked a turning-point in his career and by his admiration of Senator Vest's "Eulogy on the Dog"; he calls it a "gem of oratory."

It might be expected that the books would be failures as literary productions, but certainly they should be replete with political information. In this also the reader is for the most part disappointed. Mr. Watterson's judgment of most of the men he describes would not require greater familiarity with them and their careers than could be obtained at a dinner party or at a poker game; his picture of President Cleveland engaged in the latter diversion is both interesting and enlightening; but in most of his portraits Mr. Watterson's pen has failed him. He is at his best in describing the Liberal Republican Convention that nominated Horace Greeley, and his portrait of the candidate has in it much to praise, and the account of the Tilden campaign with its aftermath is also well told. Strange to say he has little good to say of the two Democratic presidents, Cleveland and Wilson. There is in Mr. Clark's autobiography little more of real information than could be obtained in any good textbook on the history and civil government of the country. An exception should be made of his account of the fight, which he himself led, against the Speaker's usurpation of power. This portion of the book is well worth reading, and historians will also find his narration of the Baltimore convention of value. The objectivity of his story is well exhibited by the following quotation: "It was on the fourteenth ballot that William Jennings Bryan violated his instructions and by base and false insinuations—to use no uglier word—robbed me of the nomination to which I was entitled by all the rules of decency, justice, honesty, common sense, and fair dealing."

Mrs. Gresham's life of her husband is of much more value as far as political and economic information is concerned than the two other works. The greater part of her two volumes is devoted to Gresham's career in the army and on the bench, in both of which Mrs. Gresham justly takes great pride. She gives a very full and satisfactory account of Gresham's decisions in the railway cases, in particular that concerning the Wabash Railroad, and in his execution of receiverships. Still there are many pages devoted to distinctly political matters. The story of local politics in southern Indiana is illuminating; but more general interest will be found in the chapters concerned with national politics. The story grows fuller of political interest with the account of the Republican convention of 1888 at which Gresham was placed in nomination for the presidency. Mrs. Gresham relates a most interesting inside history of the convention and asserts that her husband, if he had been willing to make terms with Senators Platt and Quay, would have been nominated. Gresham's experiences at the convention drove him slowly into the opposition and prepared him to accept the appointment as Secretary of State when Cleveland was elected. The appointment did not meet the approval of Champ Clark, who writes: "The unalloyed joy of Democrats was of short duration. March the 5th President Cleveland announced his Cabinet, and thereby slapped every Democrat betwixt the two seas squarely in the face by appointing General Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago, Secretary of State. The appointment had the effect of an ice-bath upon the enthusiasm of old, battle-scarred Democrats—who believed that the election of 1892 was a Democratic triumph, pure and simple."

CLARENCE W. ALVORD.



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Nationalization

The Case for Nationalization. By A. Emil Davies. London: George Allen and Unwin, Limited.

THE position of A. Emil Davies is unusual even in England. He is general manager of the British, Foreign, and Colonial Banking Corporation, a successful "City man," an authority in financial writing, a member of the London County Council, and chairman of the Railway Nationalization Society. When he is not organizing skilful amalgamations or describing ripe plums in investment, he is pushing the mass mind on to ever-increasing areas of socialism. It was pleasant to see him at the Coal Industry Commission. The coal owners had "nothing on him"; he is an "insider" in their world. They attempted a little cross-examination and found it disastrous, and "dropped" him, as Dodson and Fogg dropped Samuel Weller. It was then that he volunteered the secret of why he, a financier, was backing British labor against high finance and big business. The reason is that, in his opinion, public ownership and democratic management mean better finance and business. With the old game played out, the old order interred, it is the job of a practical man to help in creating the new social order. To the coal owners he said: "It is quite conceivable that the miners or the railway workers might ask more than the conditions of an industry justify. But so long as you have all this capital-mongering, they feel that the industry is making millions. Let those profits be pooled over the whole industry, as they would be if it were nationalized, with their representatives on the Board of Management, so that they know that there was no hanky-panky; it would be possible to show the miners and the railway workers that there did come a point when they were asking more than the industry really could stand. I am thinking of the trade and industry of this country, which is dependent on cheap coal. If you nationalize this particular industry, you will bring the workers to what you may call a reasonable frame of mind."

This off-hand reply of Mr. Davies can be taken as the text of his published work. His latest book, "The Case for Nationalization," is an underscoring of "The Collectivist State in the Making." Alderman Davies believes in private enterprise, but he sees that with certain vital services and industries the profit-making incentive becomes a hindrance to social development. Profit-making has brought mines and railways to low efficiency. The great organized groups of workers will no longer give high production in a system which pays profits to a small group, partly non-producing. Mr. Davies wishes to avoid a class war. "Mixing as I do with men occupying leading positions in finance and business, I was appalled at the depth of class feeling that was evidenced" in the railway strike. He analyzes the "public," and finds it to be "considerably less than one-fourth of the population." From a lifetime of experience as a master in the modern business world, he has no illusions about the governing class. "This class is, on the whole, incompetent and not even educated. How is it that the man who in business may have risen to the top proves, when he assumes office in a Government department, to be just as inept as his brother at the War Office and his cousin at the Home Office? Because, directly the searchlight of publicity is thrown upon him, his weaknesses are revealed." The book is filled with illustrations of community-owned undertakings. If any responsible person differs with Mr. Davies, he has before him the material on which Mr. Davies formed an opinion. He must disprove the facts, or point to a hiatus in the induction. There are lively chapters on The Right to Strike, The Workers' Share in Management, The Press. Men like Emil Davies, Sidney Webb, Seebohm Rowntree, R. H. Tawney, Justice Sankey, Bertrand Russell, each in his kind, contribute a spirit and an intelligence which are enabling England to make a vast social change without violence and paralysis.

ARTHUR GLEASON

A Conservative on the League

American World Policies. By David Jayne Hill. George H. Doran Company.

"IT is not," says Mr. Hill, "my purpose here to frame policies," and this comes much nearer describing the book than does the title. It is, to all intents and purposes, an analytical discussion—a destructive analysis—of the Covenant of the League of Nations. As such it should be welcome to all thinking Americans, whatever their attitude, for it comes near being the only pamphlet on the subject that bears comparison with the papers advocating the adoption of the Constitution which we combine under the title "The Federalist."

Mr. Hill does not, indeed, quite rise to Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. He does not avoid the tone of personal rancor that President Wilson seems always to excite. The chapter Nations and the Law is surprising in its historical statements and innocent in its logic. International law is extolled both as "natural" and "created through the treaty-making power." "Here is a process by which a complete system of world-law can eventually be created; and it can be accomplished as soon as the Great Powers are prepared to act under a rule of law." Has the learned doctor forgotten his "History of Diplomacy" and the occasional insistence by two Powers upon the existence of such a law, even while fighting vigorously over what it was? He also thinks "one simple sentence . . . would have provided all the guaranty necessary for [the Peace Treaty's] execution; . . . that any attempt to evade the obligations of the treaty . . . would be regarded as an offense to all of them." Is the doctor an impractical idealist who thinks each of the allies would have scorned a generous ransom somewhat conditioned on winking at a scanty payment to another?

What is really deep down in his heart is concern over the Constitution of the United States. This he finds endangered, first, by President Wilson's handling of the Treaty, particularly his disregard for the Senate, and, secondly, by the League itself. This negative part is well done and thoroughly worth consideration. He presents no alternative proposal, and while he expresses himself as favoring some kind of international association, there is no evidence of conviction with regard to it. His ideal of procedure apparently would have been to make peace, then to have a world conference to formulate international law—or rather to accept the American interpretation of it—and then to draw up articles of association to administer it. It is doubtful whether he is unduly optimistic or cynically pessimistic as to the outcome of such a procedure. On pages 184-190 he seems to doubt whether any form of self-government can evolve a real foreign policy; on page 90 he says: "In truth, by whatever name it may be called, whether 'League' or 'Alliance,' such an association has no value except as it is in fact an entente and continues to be one." On the other hand, he says that the world-community which he admits to exist today can, unlike other communities, maintain its peace "upon the principle of free cooperation under the regulation of accepted law," without a government. He is undoubtedly an anarchist in international affairs, but one remains in doubt whether he is a cheerful anarchist looking to the perfectibility of nations, or a doleful one advising the only perfect nation to avoid contamination from the rest.

Mr. Hill, then, opposes the Treaty from the point of view of the conservative. It is the League that disturbs him and not the Treaty of Peace, with regard to which he seems to regret chiefly that Germany was not forced to surrender unconditionally. His discussion, while at times heated and failing in logic, is thoughtful and provokes thought. It seems much in the spirit of the Republican platform. Sixty pages of appendix contain the Covenant of the League, the Senate reservations, and other documents.

C. R. FISH

The Advancing Hour

The Advancing Hour. By Norman Hapgood. Boni and Liveright.

MR. HAPGOOD'S observations take a wide range—too wide, in fact, to permit him to expand any topic very much or to enter with any fulness into details. The advancing hour which he studies, like all the hours that have been, holds wealth of light and shade; and one who would comprehend at all the world which is being revealed must turn his eyes all too rapidly from point to point, happy if in doing so he does not lose all sense of a common ground, a common effort, and a common hope. One needs courage, too; and courage, as it happens, is the note which Mr. Hapgood strikes first of all. The world which he examines is a world in revolution; and for those who, in the trying years through which we have of late been passing, sought refuge in the "storm cellar" of silence, evasion, or weak submission to the demands of surcharged patriots and bitter-enders, he has no kind words. Then there was the "blockade of thought," when men who knew better fancied that they did God and country an honorable service by lying, by concealing the truth, by painting every enemy black and every patriot white, and by besmirching the character and the intelligence of all who ventured dissent. To this dark spot, also, Mr. Hapgood points with mingled sarcasm and contempt. And were they not indeed rather a sorry lot, these liberals and intellectuals, during the war?

But the war is over, and there are other issues now. Broadly speaking, the issues are two: the relations between classes and the relations between states. The dangers of the new nationalism which has sprung from the war are, in Mr. Hapgood's opinion, so great that they can be overcome only by a league of nations; and he is still for the Versailles League, even with its defects, as the only practicable step toward the more perfect internationalism which in time may be worked out. We have a feeling that in this he is hoping against hope, for he frankly admits that "for the desirable issue of the conflict between the classes the outlook is much more promising than is the outlook for preventing further conflicts between the nations." Turning hopefully, then, to the economic field, he finds in the program of the British Labor Party a basis upon which all liberals may stand. That leads him naturally to hope for a new political party in this country which shall represent social and industrial needs. With Russia as an object-lesson, however, he is less sure of socialism than he is of cooperation as a remedy for present ills. Russia, indeed, appears to be quite the larger item in Mr. Hapgood's range of interest, one-fourth of his book being devoted to a long chapter in which he discusses "our follies in Russia," the issue of Bolshevism, and the achievements of cooperation.

In the chapter entitled The Answer of Liberalism Mr. Hapgood sums up his economic creed. Private capital in some form will remain. Labor will insist upon regular employment, safety, and a share with capital in management. How large the share shall be will depend upon circumstances, but there must continue to be saving for capital, and there should be a minimum of government control. The chapter is a fair enough statement of a common liberal position so far as it goes; yet we feel bound to say that anyone who today really accepts mere liberalism as a creed is halting between two faiths—an old one which he has all but rejected and a new one which he has not quite embraced. We would not do Mr. Hapgood an injustice, however. Writing out of a long and varied experience as student, author, editor, and public man, and with an enviable record of courage in championing good causes and opposing wrong, he is trying only to analyze a period of transition. There are unhappily many who will find even his moderate progressivism too vigorous for their blood, but we suspect that historians will characterize as an advance the hour which he has described.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

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Steel and Oak

Potterism. By Rose Macaulay. Boni and Liveright.
One After Another. By Stacy Aumonier. The Macmillan Company.

"POTTERISM" has had a very uncommon reception in literary London with Frank Swinnerton leading the chorus of praise; it is quite likely that that reception will be duplicated in New York and Chicago. Whether, on the other hand, the great middle class reading public will be either stirred or stung by Miss Macaulay's gay yet ultimately tragic satire, remains to be seen. To call a man yellow in Peking would cause no commotion though you shouted at the top of your voice. To denounce Potterism in Birmingham or Topeka may leave large and respectable populations unmoved. Matthew Arnold had his battle with Potterism and barely scratched its hide; aesthetes and philosophers innumerable have sped their little arrows. The monster plunges on. Northcliffe or Ochs is in the saddle or—Bulmer or Potter. For Potterism is but another name for Philistinism, the same old human lust for "second-rate sentimentalism and cheap short-cuts and mediocrity" and "muddle and cant." But through the mouth of Arthur Gideon, her central figure, Miss Macaulay gives what is, perhaps, the completest and most incisive brief description on record. "Potterism has, for one of its surest bases, fear. The other bases are ignorance, vulgarity, mental laziness, sentimentality, and greed. The ignorance which does not know facts, the vulgarity which cannot appreciate values, the laziness which will not try to learn either of these things, the sentimentality which, knowing neither, is stirred by the valueless and the untrue; the greed which grabs and exploits. But fear is the worst. The fear of public opinion, the fear of scandal, the fear of independent thought, of loss of position, of discomfort, of consequences, of truth."

A group of young men and women set out to fight Potterism. Among them, honestly convinced, are John and Jane, offspring of the great newspaper magnate Potter and of his wife Leila Yorke, the novelist, who shares the popularity of Ethel Dell and Florence Barclay. The rest are Juke, who seeks an untrodden path to the ancient goal of Christian freedom, Katherine Varick, a new woman with a very old ache in her soul, and the half Jewish journalist Arthur Gideon, who, having a really incorruptible mind, is forced to play a Laodicean's part amid the fevered factions of the world and is killed because he wears no badge but that of humanity and has no party but the truth itself. Jane and John, though on a slightly higher plane, revert to type. Ease and worldly success seduce both. And that, indeed, is what makes Potterism so supremely insidious. The intoxication of the world's applause, the softness of creature comforts, are on its side. Once in a while the Potterite pays—as in war. But since the child of light pays too, and pays, in addition, for something he never wanted, his earthly reward is reduced to the satisfaction of his own mind. No wonder his kind is rare.

Miss Macaulay's narrative technique shares the keenness and distinction of her intellectual outlook. Each section of the book is told by one of its characters and thus the characterization is of a rare completeness and inwardness. The section written by Leila Yorke is masterly in its revelation of a third-rate mind rendered impenetrable by the shoddy goodness of its own intentions. But from the various narratives there arises not only a picture of these conflicting minds; there arises also a swift and tragic action saved from any taint of melodrama by a constant scrupulousness in the treatment of the psychical values involved. Thus Miss Macaulay's book is both brilliant and skilful, a notable story and an incisive criticism of life.

Mr. Aumonier has returned to the sources in life and art from which he drew his early stories. He has broadened his scene and enlarged his range of characters. But his essential method is that of "The Friends," and so "One After Another"

is easily the best novel he has written. Despite the exploits of the glowing and pathetic Laura, the book is a quiet one. But its quietude is that which comes from a deep absorption in the common and concrete things of life. Once more Mr. Aumonier has his early solidity, his sane earthiness, his thick and crusty masses of reality. What, in the end, affects the mind most strongly is the picture of The Duchess of Pless, the old public house in Camden Town, and the life and death of Purbeck the publican. Purbeck is almost the last of his kind. The world, as his children who love him feel very clearly, cannot endure him any more. Even in his own time the stiff-necked old Puritan caused himself and others endless and needless misery. But Mr. Aumonier has made him a massive and memorable figure—hale, earth-rooted, carved as of oak.

Purbeck, queerly enough, married a Spanish woman, and his two children felt the effect both of that anomalous marriage and of the changing world into which they were plunged. Tom goes through life well enough, though with adventures along the road that would have sickened his father; Laura tarnishes the beauty that was in her—the inner beauty of her mother untempered by her father's strength—and becomes all healthless body and ruined nerves. A third generation appears in the person of Tom's daughter—a cooler, clearer, better-poised generation that will know how to live far more competently than the distracted children of the old publican. By this sharp definition of the generations blended with his brooding sense of life's fundamental continuance, Mr. Aumonier has made his book as suggestive as it is entertaining and as philosophical as it is concrete.

L. L.

Notable Fall Books

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Canby, H. S. *Everyday Americans.* Century.
 Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. *Freedom of Speech.* Harcourt, Brace and Howe.
 Erskine, John. *Democracy and Ideals.* Doran.
 Fosdick, R. B. *American Police Systems.* Century.
 Friedman, E. P. (editor). *America and the New Era.* Dutton.
 Kerlin, R. T. *The Voice of the Negro.* Dutton.
 Meiklejohn, Alexander. *The Liberal College.* Marshall Jones.
 Stevens, Doris. *Jailed for Freedom.* Boni and Liveright.
 Storey, Moorfield. *Problems of Today.* Houghton Mifflin.
 Thompson, F. U. *The Schooling of the Immigrant.* Harper.

ART, ARCHAEOLOGY, MUSIC.

Brangwyn, Frank. *Book Plates.* Lippincott.
 Dana, Ethel N. (editor). *The Story of Jesus: Pictures from Paintings by Giotto, Fra Angelico, etc.* Marshall Jones.
 Dickins, Guy. *Hellenistic Sculpture.* Oxford University Press.
Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Vol. VI. American Supplement. Macmillan.
 Hill, G. F. *The Medallic Portraits of Christ.* Oxford University Press.
 Marriott, Charles. *Masters of Modern Art.* 3 vols.: Augustus John; Charles Shannon; Frank Brangwyn. Stokes.
 Pennell, Joseph. *Art Talks.* Lippincott.
 Pennell, Joseph. *The Graphic Arts.* University of Chicago Press.
 Pennell, Joseph. *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen.* Macmillan.
 Pilsworth, E. S. *The Technique of Practical Drawing.* Macmillan.
 Rothenstein, William. *Literary Portraits: Twenty-four Drawings of Contemporary Men of Letters.* Harcourt, Brace and Howe.
 Siren, Oswald. *Essentials in Art.* Lane.
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